ALFRED SALMONY

SINO-SIBERIAN ART

IN THE COLLECTION OF C. T. LOO

PARIS
C. T. LOO, PUBLISHER

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PREFACE

Many expressions of gratitude should accompany this book. Everywhere the author has found the disinterested help without which no result, not even a provisory one, may be obtained. The majority of such acknowledgements are to be found in the text and among the notes. But particular thanks are due to the extraordinary zeal of Mrs. Frances Chase Hollis who undertook to translate this work into English and to whom therefore fell the burden of proof reading. The generous response of Mr. Willy Baruch far exceeds what one might expect from a request for information. I am sure the reader will be as grateful to him as is the author for his study on the Si-hia and K'itan writings.

Alfred Salmony.

Paris, September, 1933.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years there have been brought to our notice by art dealers and some archeologists who import Chinese art, certain objects which are not sufficiently explained by the artistic development of the Far East alone. Among these dealers, C.T. Loo and Co. have for some years been accumulating a group of articles permitting a study of this art today. These objects have already interested sinologues, and the question of their origin has provoked considerable discussion. We are usually given some indication as to their provenance, connecting them with countries bordering the north of China. It has been possible at times to make this origin appear probable, even to prove it, but little has been gained by an approximative geographic determination. These objects from the north of China have for the most part been brought to us with no report of their discovery, with no tomb inventories, and above all with no inscriptions, that is to say, with none of those means by which science is usually helped, when it endeavours to classify unknown material.

Difficulty begins at once with the designation of these articles. The adjective " Scythian " has frequently been used by dealers, who with this word wish to convey the idea that such articles owe some part of their artistic formation to the inhabitants of the Eurasiatic Steppes. This is no doubt true, only unfortunately, in certain cases we do not know in detail what tribe nor even what race from the northern frontier of China may be considered as inspiring this art. This search for the creator is at once combined with a search for the period of creation, since we have sufficient information on the succession of the different peoples on the continent of Eurasia, thanks to historical documents of both East and West. With the adjective " Scythian " we refer only to the first ethnical group the existance of which has been historically proved, and which inhabited the extreme west of the zone of the Steppes. In attempting to start exclusively from the Scythians in order to determine the period of all this Chinese frontier art, a date is reached that in most cases seems to us too early (1). Besides it is

quite impossible that a people limited in time and space should alone have influenced China. Their successors were no farther away from her, often even nearer. Therefore we must give up a designation that takes the name of only one people of the Steppes. Different geographic appelations have been suggested at various times for this art, as for example, after the Mongol country of the Ordos (2), or after a locality where discoveries were accidently made, situated in the province of Shan-si, named Sui yüan (3). Occasionally the adjective " Eurasiatic " has been adopted, which to my mind is more suitable, as it permits these artistic manifestations to be connected with various regions in the circle of the Steppes. In order to emphasize the creation under Chinese influence, as well as the confusion of influences from lands to the north of China, we have chosen the term " Sino-Siberian ", which is easy to remember.

Light cannot be thrown on the obscurity surrounding this art without comparing it with that of the Steppes. If in countries bordering China all basis for scientific work is lacking, we have at our disposal at the other side of the Great Wall, at least now and then, reports on excavations and tomb inventories, but unfortunately very rarely what is most important : inscriptions. And above all in south Russia, the Caucasus, the Ural and Siberia, there is a certain relative chronology based on actual facts that should help us to group the vast number of pieces coming from the north of China. The first to point out the possibility of grouping monuments brought out by dealers without too great an archeological burden was Pelliot (4). He enumerates the intercrossing of influences to be encountered in the quest for the creators of these works of art :

1) " Siberian, influenced by western Sarmatian art and even by Greek art. " This possibility arises for articles that have been imported and that are found, therefore, only separately. But nearly all articles are part of a series that may be typified by one specimen alone.

2) " Siberian, properly so called. " What we have just stated must be repeated for this case.

3) " Siberian, made by Turco-Mongolian tribes. " Certainly the most frequent case.

4) " Siberian, reproduced by Turco-Mongols settled on Chinese soil ". This possibility seems to me to be closely connected with the preceding case.

5) " Chinese, which still shows a Siberian origin more or less remote. " This case also is not rare, it may easily be explained by assimilation.

It might be added : " Chinese, but imitated at a later date in the country of assimilated neighbours ", since peculiarities in material and in patina are encountered which are not found among the majority of similar Chinese objects, but which are usual at the northern frontier.

If, finally, we decide to examine these objects from the point of view of their connection with the north and northwest, we continually run into the question :

whether it is the object and its use, or only the ornament; or whether it is the object and the ornament that have been borrowed.

In order to set forth this series of questions, the documents must be classified in some way. In an attempt to do this, we shall group the different uses starting from the possibility of their origin. This distribution has always the advantage of being clear, but has the disadvantage of not taking into account the diversity of concordant forces. Thus, although the names seem to show that they owe their inspiration to a definite geographic locality, the subdivisions are oriented quite differently. In order to account for the definite intermixture of influences, we should repeat the same process of distribution for the ornamental motives alone, without reference to the object's use.

What I am attempting to do here, is to combine these two methods of considering the problem. In the following chapters we shall search not only for the Eurasiatic precurser of each type of utensil, and of each ornament from the north of China, but we believe it will be possible to point out along with the influences, the individual developments peculiar to the region. This neighbouring country took little if any part in the changes in Chinese style. For the famous " Asiatic retardation ", conditions could be no better except in those places where the inhabitants of the Steppes could turn towards a higher civilization, when at the same time a strange world was opening up for the Chinese that, compared to her, was poor in artistic form.

NOTES OF CHAPTER I

(1) Arne, 2), p. 58.
(2) Glück, p. 29.
(3) Andersson, 4), p. 145.
(4) Pelliot, 3), p. 18.

CHAPTER II

CHINA AND THE EURASIATIC NORTH IN PREHISTORY

That man existed in China in the remotest of periods, namely in the paleolithic age, has been proved by the discovery of a great number of stone implements (1), but no works of art as old as these have been found. There is also nothing that may be compared with the rich discoveries from Malta, near Irkutsk (2).

Since the excavations of Andersson, we know the Chinese neolithic period particularly by its painted pottery (3). This pottery long outlived the metal age, and the discovery of a painted potsherd at An-yang, on the site of the capitol of the Yin is positive proof of this (4). It has been frequently suggested, and with good reason, that the painted pottery of China must in some way be connected with that of the Mediterranean coast or of southeastern Europe. But it cannot possibly have taken the " road across the Steppes " without leaving some trace. On the other hand this art is entirely lacking in northern Asia. There is only one locality in this district where painted potsherds have been unearthed, that is near the Amour in the region of Chabarovsk (5). However, the latter must be considered as a northern outgrowth of Sino-Manchurian art. There can therefore be question of only one road by which painted pottery was brought into China, the southern route passing through Chinese Turkestan along which it has even been possible to point out the halting places. This assertion is of importance, since Andersson found painted pottery in the province of Kan-su, in localities which also produced bronzes in the animal style about which we shall speak here (6). He prudently draws no deduction from this surprising fact. If we keep in mind the inventory of Siberian art, we may feel sure that any connection between these two categories of objects : painted pottery on the one hand and animal style bronzes on the other, is absolutely impossible.

The situation is different for primitive stone weapons which are not always necessarily neolithic, but which often continue the traditions of this period into a later epoch. Hentze has shown that the Pi, symbol of heaven, corresponds with the more or less circular axes, hollowed out in the centre, which are a part of the European neolithic age (7). As these weapons are often of soft stone

he deduces that they were designed for votive or processional occasions. In China this object of irregular form becomes a weapon by moving the opening towards the edge, and by forming two triangular corners (Pl. I, No. 1). This piece from the Sonnenschein collection is certainly very old. It was whetted so thin that it can never have been put to practical use, but, just as in Europe, was for ceremonial purposes alone. The circular opening which was bored by a centre-bit is funnel shaped, a characteristic of very early periods.

The ordinary axe may be considered as the next typological step (8). Its form is that of a trapezium with rounded corners, and the opening has become smaller in diameter.

A neolithic stone axe coming from the east of Lake Baikal (Pl. I, No. 2) perfectly corresponds with this description. Now arises the question whether one should here speak of Chinese influence, or whether there are analogous forms having as fundamental principle one that was the same for all northwestern antiquity, or finally whether this weapon was developed under the influence of Siberia which in its turn transmitted forms coming from the west.

Another possibility of connection in prehistoric times between the west and countries in northern Asia deserves to be considered. Pelliot quotes the opinion of H.T. Chang, who believes that the Chinese imported jade from Central Asia already considered at an early date a most precious material (9). Among the places he enumerates where this semi-precious stone may be found, he mentions the country surrounding Lake Baikal, where in fact there are archaic jade weapons. A magnificent piece comes from the neighbourhood of Irkutsk (Pl. I, No. 3), the edges are slightly thinned, the blade very much so. The neolithic axes from Honan are similar in appearance (10). The Cologne Museum of Far-Eastern Art possesses a "coup de poing" (Pl. I, No. 4) that shows progress compared to pieces found by Andersson. In this case the mass is more vigourously wrought so that the convex side is framed by a rim. However, this piece is still very far from the final form of the Chou period, which rarely lacks a transversal hole (11). We may compare the Chinese coup de poing, probably neolithic, with a small specimen of flattened cylindrical shape that was found to the east of Lake Baikal (Pl. I, No. 5). Because of its round form it corresponds to a type called "Huan-Kuei" (12).

The development of the axe and of the coup de poing has scarcely been studied. A statement that forerunners of Chinese jade weapons may be found in eastern Siberia should not necessarily lead to the hypothesis that one region was dependant on the other. As in the stone age it is possible that we are face to face with an evolution developing on the largest of bases, the basis of all prehistoric mankind.

NOTES OF CHAPTER II

(1) Boule, e. s.
(2) Salmony, 5).
(3) Andersson, 1), 2), 3).
(4) Li Chi, part. II.
(5) Oral communication from M. Gerassimov.
(6) Andersson, 4), p. 153.
(7) Hentze, 1), p. 201.
(8) Laufer, 2), pl. IV.
(9) Pelliot, 1), p. 8.
(10) Andersson, 1), pl. VI, 16 a.
(11) Laufer, 2), pl. II.
(12) Laufer, 2), p. 93, fig. 26.

CHAPTER III

CHINA AND THE EURASIATIC NORTH IN THE PERIOD OF THE CHOU DYNASTY (1122-255 B. C.)

1) European literature on possible interrelations.

As soon as the art of bronze had escaped from the shadows of prehistoric times, it made use in China of a strongly developed animal ornamentation that was of a peculiar character unknown elsewhere. This ornamentation usually forms hieroglyphics so confused that they are unrecognizable, and seldom are they realistic. The attemps to connect these animal-forms with countries outside of China are nearly as numerous as books on Chinese art. In searching for the inspirers students have turned many times towards the circle of the Steppes in northern Asia. Such an attribution is of special interest when it is made by a famous scholar, an expert on the art of nearby countries. Rostovtzeff, for instance, first believed it possible to derive Scythian as well as Chinese animal representation from an unknown locality in Central Asia (1). He later upheld this theory with less assurance (2), and now he has entirely given it up (3). Borovka has maintained the same point of view with considerable energy (4). The dragon and monster masques of the Chou bronzes, that is, the most frequent motives, he considered as derived from Scytho-Siberian art. In the end he himself felt the chronological discord between very early Chinese forms and their would-be models of so much later date. This resulted in his doubting the Chou date on pieces which to his mind had been influenced from outside (5). However it is not our knowledge of China that is at fault, but rather the theory of Borovka.

2) Chinese historical texts.

When we study Chinese texts, we find the tangible possibility of a connection with the Barbarians. Plath has already supplied a list of neighbours differing from the Chinese either by their culture, their language, or their race (6). Maspero has classified them again according to their origin, and to their geographic distribution (7). The texts group them systematically and geographically. To the east on the peninsula of Shan-tung live the I; to the west, particularly

in Shen-si and in Shan-si, the Jung; to the north around the Yellow River, the Ti; to the south on the Yang-tse, the Man. The latter, kin to the Tibetans and the Asiatics of the southwest, do not concern us here. Maspero considers some of the Jung, the Ti, and probably the I, as Chinese, while he calls the rest of the Jung, and some tribes less frequently mentioned, Tungus and Huns. He proves in this way that some members of the family of north Asiatic peoples were neighbours of the Chinese. In any case, at the beginning of the Chou Dynasty, the I and the Ti were also northern nomads who were only very slowly assimilated. The texts have much that is instructive to say about these people. The ancient Chinese considered them as dangerous foreigners. It is often said of them, " The barbarians are insatiable wolves " (8), " lacking affection and greedy " (9) " the barbarians from the west and the north give free rein to their feelings " (10), that is, they did not live as did the Chinese, in a society regulated by custom and ceremonial. But it is particularly remarked that they differ above all, in costume, in head-dress and in food (11). They eat uncooked food, probably raw meat (12); they migrate from home to home (13), a characteristic sign of nomads. Human sacrifice proves the cruelty of their customs (14). However they gradually become influenced by Chinese civilization, but succeed nevertheless, particularly in the mountains, in maintaining their independance until the IV Century B.C. (15). For the Chinese there were always two ways of dealing with these awkward and dangerous neighbours : one was to assimilate them, and to let them slowly melt into Chinese society ; the other was to push them as far back as possible from the Chinese frontier, and with fortifications prevent their return. That results could be attained with a method of pacification is proved by the description : " Barbarians pacified and governed " (16), quoted in the III Century B.C. The texts often speak of walls serving for defense; the most important fortifications of this type date from the year 219 B.C. (17).

It is mentioned several times in historical texts that Chinese princes adopted customs of the barbarians (18). Mixed marriages were the fashion (19). It would therefore appear very possible that certain forms of belief as well as certain artistic forms may have seeped into Chinese society from bordering nations. Hentze has shown that in frequent cases there are myths common to both regions (20), but here we are only concerned with pointing out the correlative artistic motives. When we attempt to do so in the following pages we are surely warranted in comparing the Chou forms with later examples from the north. The nomads learnt the use of metals later than did nations possessing a higher civilization. But they retained along, with their old myths, artistic forms that are also extremely ancient.

3) Works of art.

The reprensentation of the owl is part of the old inheritance of the Chou.

The four known examples of recepticles in animal form, with removable heads, have often been illustrated (21). When reproducing this bird, the artist gives it characteristics that make it easily recognizable. The head big and round; the beak curved, slightly notched at the end of the lower mandible; the large eyes circled with feathers, and the eye-balls protruding; legs usually with feathers down to the feet and hind-toes that can turn (22). This description agrees very well with the four birds on a covered receptacle in the Loo collection (Pl. II, Nos. 1 and 2). There are different names for this type ("I" and "Tsun"). The way in which the surface is entirely covered with ornamentation reminds us of the beginning of the Chou period. With the exception of the vertical ridges in the middle and on the edge, only the eyes and beaks are in relief. The preference for engraved ornamentation is already found in the bronzes from An-yang, but chiefly in what was their model, the engraved bones from the same site. This statement corresponds with the date chosen here.

An owl covers each half of the receptacle and each half of the lid. The characteristics of this species which we have enumerated here, perfectly agree with the typical stylization of archaic Chinese art. That the bird has some special signification, there can be no doubt. According to the texts, Granet has connected it with drum, casting, thunder and lightning (23). He also remarks that an owl used to be sacrificed to Huang-Ti, first mythological sovereign of China. Now arises the question whether the owl on this bronze could have served as a totem, an ancestor and protector in animal form. Opinions differ on the existance of totemism in China (24). At first one is not inclined to search among the agricultural Chinese for any belief held by hunters, that is totemism. This connection is reasonable, however, if one will bear in mind the association and intermarriage of the Chinese with the barbarians. Our chief reason for believing that the owl was derived from northern countries is that there it was of extraordinary importance.

It may be found in nearly all parts of the eastern Steppes, chiefly in the valley of the Minussinsk. There are also examples from western Siberia (25). Bronze buttons have their surfaces covered with the owl's head. Reports on Siberian schmanism help us to understand the reason for finding representations of this night bird on such accessories. Nioradse writes that the "grand duke", a species of owl, persecutes and devours evil spirits (26). "A schamane having the body of a grand duke on his head is in this way protected from demons". A representation of a sorcerer thus attired comes from the Ischimka river near Krasnojarsk (27). It has been possible to date this discovery through finding at the same place Chinese mirrors of the second half of the I millennium of our era. Here a man, primitively stylised, is flanked by two birds seen in profile, one of which is broken. He has an owl-head as head-dress, the eyes of which show it to be a definite type of bird and quite different from those which are at each side.

It is in about the same period as the discoveries at Ischimka that we should place the metal plaques found in the region of Perm in the Ural (28). A piece unearthed near Uchta shows us an owl as protector of man. The head has the usual characteristics, but the wings have become small bars and the body a narrow band. Here the man is drawn in a rudimentary fashion, but there can be no doubt as to the representation. The figure seems to be surrounded by the totem animal. The fact that the owl is reproduced in this way in the central and eastern sections, but not in the southwest, the Scytho-Sarmatian region of the Steppes, shows that here we are concerned with a native motive. With Siberian examples before us, it seems probable that the owl, seen full-face, may have been inspired in China from northern Asia. It is always possible that the meaning has changed and that it has been adapted to Chinese myths (29).

We sometimes find in Chinese art an obvious connection between man and beast, for the study of which we must return to Hentze's classification (30). According to this writer it is the ancestor animal and the first man, an idea, therefore, that closely approaches totemism and concerning which there are numerous documents in the Eurasiatic Steppes (31). Hentze adds that the combination of animal and man is a Pacific basin phenomenon. This permits the hypothesis that the origin of these mythological conceptions may be found in a region from which, according to the latest scientific theories, the first inhabitants of America migrated, that is from north Asia.

The group of Chinese documents belonging to the Pacific basin mythology is completed by two bronzes in the Loo collection (Pl. II, nos. 3 & 4). Because of their shape they may both be dated indisputably as Chou. They are terminals, the use of which is unknown. The base of the smaller piece (Pl. II, no. 3) is formed of a harpy. Above her is crouched a man who holds a hen in his two hands. His head is gripped in the mouth of a tiger clinging to his back. The tiger in no way differs from the usual representations of this animal in the Chou dynasty. More surprising still than these parallels from the Ural and its eastern slopes, is the example from the valley of the Amazone reproduced by Hentze (32). The larger object takes us back to more general and nearly world-wide mythological origins. The figuration differs from the preceding example in that the human being appears grotesque and that he bears a serpent on his head. Here we should remember a neolithic vase from Kan-su which also shows man crowned with a serpent (33). For the meaning we must once more turn to Hentze who interprets the serpent as a phallic and lunar symbol (34). We cannot here enter into details concerning the mythological meaning; the fact is enough that we are finding more and more examples of Chou art, the symbolism of which connects them with Eurasia and America. We must therefore bear in mind the connection between these parts of the world, a connection of which the importance has until now escaped us.

It is possible to add considerably to the number of parallels between China and Eurasia. But until now we have not been able to show any resemblance between the artistic forms of pre-Han China and those of Siberia. We have no right, however, to affirm a complete absence of style connection. There are forms in Chou art that are also found in the north, but an insufficient knowledge of small Chinese bronzes of an early date still prevents a definite statement. We shall confine ourselves to enumerating briefly some resemblances still too isolated. There are those we might choose which support the theory of an influence from Siberia upon China, others which seem rather to show the contrary.

1) The Museum of Far Eastern Art in Cologne owns a bronze (unpublished) with animals along its narrow edge. This is a typical arrangement on boilers from the circle of the Steppes.

2) We find on pierced bronze plaques (belonging to a Paris dealer, unpublished) the recumbent body in low relief of a tiger, the neck and head of which are in the round. We shall speak later on of Eurasiatic parallels. (Cf. Pl. XIII, no. 1).

3) The Cauri shell appears in China as well as in Siberia imitated in metal. It may be found realistically represented on a Chou bell that otherwise has only strictly stylised ornamentation (35). This motive may be the survival of a more ancient tradition, but it may also be connected in some way with the north.

4) Although no other geometrically stylised animals are known from Siberia, there has been found near Krasnojarsk a grasshopper in stone so treated. This insect, by the way, is unknown in the art of northern Asia. Perhaps this tiny object was imported from China (36).

5) Among the jade objects unexplained until now, there is a slightly flattened cylinder, open at both sides, one side overlapping the other, and the wider side sometimes covered with a monster-masque (37). This object astonishingly resembles the hoes of the bronze age in the Eurasiatic Steppes. We know of examples from the Volga, particularly from the region of Kazan and Ananino (38). Tallgren refers to Finders Petrie who finds this type in the Mediterranean Basin of about the year 1300 B.C. (39). Similar implements from Minnussinsk carry us towards the socketed axe (40).

6) There is in the G.L. Winthrop collection (New York), a jade pole-top (unpublished). It is in the form of a human bust, negroid type, usually of the Chou period. This bust has a full face monster-masque on the breast, arms in the shape of animals in profile, all stylised in the Chou manner. The same composition of human and animal motives appears towards the end of the I millennium A.D. in the region of Tomsk (41).

NOTES OF CHAPTER III

(1) Rostovtzeff, 1), p. 200.
(2) Rostovtzeff, 4), p. 32.
(3) Rostovtzeff, 3), p. 73.
(4) Borovka, 1), p. 86.
(5) Borovka, 2), p. 76.
(6) Plath.
(7) Maspero, p. 5.
(8) Couvreur, 2), vol. I, p. 209.
(9) Couvreur, 2), vol. II, p. 203, and vol. III, p. 518.
(10) Couvreur, 1), vol. I, p. 216.
(11) Couvreur, 2), vol. I, p. 330, and vol. II, p. 292.
(12) Couvreur, 1), vol. I, p. 295.
(13) Couvreur, 2), vol. II, p. 207.
(14) Couvreur, 2), vol. I, p. 320.
(15) Maspero, p. 382.
(16) Chavannes, 3), p. 521.
(17) De Groot, p. 43-44.
(18) Couvreur, 2), vol. II, p. 529.
(19) Couvreur, 2), vol. I, p. 194.
(20) Hentze, 2), p. 92, p. 180 and others.
(21) Coll. baron K. Sumitomo, Kobe, Mr. R. W. Bliss, New York; Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos, London, and Mrs. W. H. Moore, New York.
(22) Brehm, 1), vol. III, p. 200.
(23) Granet, vol. II, p. 515.
(24) Erkes.
(25) Heikel, pl. X, 9-10.
(26) Nioradse, 1), p. 74.
(27) Ermolaev, v. Merhart, p. 178.
(28) Borovka, 1), pl. 66-67.
(29) Salmony, 7).
(30) Hentze, 2), p. 166.
(31) Salmony, 4), fig. 5, 6.
(32) Hentze, 2), fig. 161.
(33) Hentze, 2), fig. 131-134.
(34) Hentze, 2), p. 138.
(35) Bough, pl. I and Salmony, 6).
(36) Salmony, 4), pl. 14, 1.
(37) Ausstellung, Nr. 160-161.
(38) Tallgren, 1), vol. I, pl. XIII, 2-3.
(39) Tallgren, 3), p. 116.
(40) Martin, pl. VI, 4-14, IX, 3-15.
(41) Mjalkov, pl. III, 7.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE NORTH AFTER THE CHOU PERIOD

Towards the end of the Chou period, an event took place which clearly shows in what way elements from the circle of the Eurasiatic Steppes could have penetrated into China. Ssü-Ma Ts'ien reports that Wu Ling, king of Chao (325-298 B.C.) wished to put an end to continuous conflicts due to barbarian agression (1). His kingdom embraced what is actually Shan-si and western Chih-li, and was particularly exposed to danger. The king decided to adapt Chinese military organization and equipment to barbarian customs, and it is related that certain of his subjects offered forcible resistance to these innovations. Literature on archeological subjects has often used this sure text (2). Pelliot shows in detail what was adopted in this period by the Chinese from their warlike neighbours (3). Chariots bearing arquebusiers were to be replaced by cavalry, as was customary for people who lived on horseback and who could draw the bow while riding. A new type of equipment naturally demanded clothing different from the traditional costume of the Chinese; above all, instead of the flowing cloak and long skirt, a jacket held by a belt, and trousers; in brief the dress of the nomadic horsemen. But Pelliot also points out that this reform only appeared after the Han and did not dominate until the T'ang. Although the borrowing of north Asian forms, so important to Chinese art, already began at the end of the Chou period, the results are not felt before the III century B.C., or in the majority of cases, at the earliest, during the Han dynasty. As for Chinese objects bearing northern Asian characteristics, the possibility arises that they may date from the first period of this artistic exchange between the centre of culture and the periphery; but there is always another possibility, that of a later creation.

To what race and to what people did these barbarians belong from whom the Chinese consciously borrowed weapons and implements, and, because of this, artistic forms? Ssü-Ma Ts'ien speaks of the Hu as neighbours of the Chao kingdom. According to De Groot the eastern Hu should be considered

Tungus (4). On the other hand the western Hu belonged to a race of people of whom Chinese texts speak as barbarians of the north and northwest : Hiung-nus. Cahun believes the latter to be neither a nation nor a tribe, but that the Chinese used this expression for all foreign peoples to the north of the Huang-ho (5). According to recent discoveries they were a mixture of Tungus and Mongols, the Mongol element dominating (6). The Hiung-nu came into contact with the Chinese in the III century B.C. At first they were welcome allies against the Yue-chi, whom Franke considers Tungus, perhaps identical to the Jung (7). According to Grousset the Yue-chi were of uncertain race, but he believes they were Indo-Europeans related to the Scythians (8). Towards the middle of the II century B.C., the Hiung-nu made decisive victories. They chased the Yue-chi forever from the Chinese frontier. Part of their uncontested domain lay inside of the Great Wall. Already in the Han dynasty there are transitions in the peasant life of the Chinese of the hunting and pastoral life of the barbarians. This fact constitutes the basis of a hybrid art.

Towards 125 B.C. new conquerors in appeared Mongolia, the Sien-pi, a Mongol tribe (9). The question of race now lost all importance for the peoples of the Steppes, just as did, later, the question of religion. Behind these moving ethnical groups constantly reinforced by new waves risen from the immense territory of Eurasia, appeared one sole motive force, the instinct of rape. Even in the VIII century A.D. the Turkish Bilgä Khan had inscribed on the monument erected to his honour : " Because the Turks were hungry they went to other countries " (10). The Chinese Empire easily managed to withstand these hordes just so long as they did not become too strong. They engaged them and payed them as mercenaries, sent them against interior and exterior enemies, but also one against the other. Cahun always maintains that these nations of horsemen lacked all cultural inheritance. He grants them a certain importance, but only as a violent intermediary between the two big centres at the beginning of our era, between Persia on the west and China on the east (11). This author's statements, however, do not concern art.

After the Han dynasty, the Chinese and the barbarians become more closely connected. Once again it was the Hiung-nu who approached nearest to the centre of civilization (12). The northwest of the Chinese frontier belonged to them, while the Sien-pi held the northeast. One can find the same dissolution and the same disorder in the two groups as reigned in China after the period of the Han, due to frequent changes in dynasty. Such circumstances must have favoured hybridism.

In the IV century A.D. there appeared on China's horizon a race of horsemen, a people whose hearth should be sought for in the north of central Asia, probably in the Altai. These were the Turks. One of their tribes, the T'o-pa,

founded in 436 a Chinese dynasty in the north of the Empire. It appears that this dynasty kept little of its native art elements (13). This dynasty also had to defend itself against the hordes we believe to be Mongol, and among whom the Juan-juan or Avares were the most important.

Finally in the VI century the Turks flowed in a body towards the Chinese frontier. It is not known when they left their primeval home, but they remembered it as long as they lived in the east. For this reason it was the forests that seemed to them the most propitious. " Grow strong in the forests of the mountain ", this is what we constantly find on inscriptions discovered in Mongolia (14). Later Marco Polo relates that all the great Khans and all the descendants of Cingis were carried into the Altai to be buried (15).

The Empire of the Turks, at first including all the east of the circle of the Steppes, was already in the VI century divided into eastern and western sections. The latter region was particularly important for the formation of a mixed Turco-Chinese art, not only because it bordered China, but above all because it included ancient Siberian centres of metal production around the Jenissei, Lake Baikal, and the Selenga. Several of these centres, especially in the vicinity of Minnussinsk were at that time in the hands of the Kirgises, who, however, were entirely assimilated by the Turks. Since they were the link between southern Siberia and northern China, the eastern Turks may be considered as the creators of many of the works of art reproduced here. They had not only been recognised in Chinese texts ever since the VI century, but they themselves left authentic documents. The Turkish inscriptions from the Jenissei, although by the Kirgises, belong to the VII century (16). The monuments of the river Orkhon date from the years 731 and 733 (17). At this period the empire of the eastern Turks was already dependent on China and in 741 was destroyed by another Turkish tribe, the Uigurs (18), who for a long time had inhabited Turkestan, that is, to the south of the circle of the Steppes. There they most certainly attained a much higher culture than that of their northern kin. It is probably because of this that Chavannes wrote that the gold plaques (which, however, belong for the most part half a century earlier), were the work of the Uigurs (19).

In 840 the Kirgises took the place of the Turks as neighbours of the Chinese (20). In the X century began the success of the K'itan, a Mongol tribe (21), who for a certain time managed to secure the northern section of China.

A Tangut tribe, the Si-hia, founded a barbarian state in the province of Shen-si in 1032 (22). We shall speak later on of their writing which allows us a possibility of dating their monuments. Towards 1120, the K'itan gave way to the Tungus, the Ju-chen (23), who, coming from the northwest, probably brought with them but little civilization and but few artistic forms. Finally in the XII century came the advance of the Mongols. In the second half of

that century they were united by the famous Cingis Khan and led by him to magnificent conquests. By about the year 1200 he was master of all Mongolia, and then, in the south, he subjugated the remaining K'itans and the Si-hia. Among the Turkish and Mongol vassals of Cingis we know the Öngüts. In the XII and XIII centuries, and even later, in the time of Marco Polo, they lived north of the Yellow River, in the country of the Ordos. We shall later have to speak of what remains of their art, which Pelliot has already studied (24). The advance of the Mongols was ended in the east by the founding of the Yüan dynasty on Chinese soil in 1280. The Mongols remained masters of those regions of the Steppes which bordered China, and slowly they absorbed the remaining tribes who had lived there before them.

This general view of historical events on the northern Chinese frontier, although simplified and shortened, cannot help but bring to our notice three ethnical groups that are possible links and bearers of the art with which we are concerned : they are the Tungus, the Turks and the Mongols. As we have had no systematic excavations, and since they resemble each other in their manner of living, it will be impossible to set forth what belongs to each individual group. Besides we must bear in mind their constant intermingling.

It would be an error to consider as nomads or semi-nomads all the above mentioned peoples. Their lives as hunters and cattle raisers often obliged them to move their homes. But we already know that the Scythians, as their civilization progressed, practiced agriculture. It is above all the smiths who were artisans in metal objects who found it most difficult to change their domiciles, and who probably preferred to continue working in localities where natural conditions were favourable to their tasks. In spite of this their treasure of artistic forms and myths is that of the nomads. The objects they produced corresponded to the needs of migratory peoples. These artists of the Steppes were never impelled towards the diversity in artistic creation that always arises of its own accord among a sedentary people. There seems to be at the northern Chinese border relatively few forms due to the high civilization that was so near, but many forms resulting from nomadic life.

NOTES OF CHAPTER IV

(1) Chavannes, 2), vol. V, p. 69-85.
(2) Laufer, 1), p. 216.
(3) Pelliot, 2).
(4) De Groot, p. 36.
(5) Cahun, p. 46.
(6) Grousset, tome I, p. 206, note 5.
(7) Franke, p. 87.
(8) Grousset, tome I, p. 208.
(9) Grousset, tome I, p. 219.
(10) Radloff, 3), vol. III, p. 447.
(11) Cahun, p. VIII.
(12) Grousset, tome I, p. 247.
(13) Grousset, tome I, p. 250.
(14) Radloff, 3), vol. III, p. 447.
(15) Minus, 1), p. 89.
(16) Aspelin, 2).
(17) Radloff, 3), vol. I.
(18) Radloff, 3), vol. III, p. 246.
(19) Chavannes, 1), p. 300.
(20) Grousset, tome I, p. 358.
(21) Grousset, tome I, p. 366.
(22) Grousset, tome I, p. 370.
(23) Grousset, tome I, p. 373.
(24) Pelliot, 4).

CHAPTER V

THE DATING OF METAL OBJECTS

Concerning northern Chinese frontier art there are many unanswered questions, and indeed many that are impossible to answer under actual conditions of scientific knowledge. There is one problem, that from an archeological point of view is more important than any other : that of dating objects. Until now literature has not seriously studied this question, and for that reason we shall place particular emphasis upon it in the following pages. We must remind our readers once more that chronological bases such as dates, names of owners, in short all that may be termed inscriptions, are nearly entirely lacking. There are few facts when attempting to classify according to period. They are in fact so scarce that a future study based on archeological and philological research may perhaps reach conclusions which somewhat differ from those attained here. We must not forget the accidental quality of the proofs we believe to possess and with which we uphold our theory, but it is impossible to refrain from an attempt at some chronological classification. One single reason among those enumerated further on would not suffice in many cases for the date chosen. It is only the coincidence of different causes that has led me to believe that not all objects created at the Chinese frontier under northern Asian influence should carry the designation " Han " with which they have been labeled until now. In certain cases we shall advance the limit of a date by about one millennium, admitting that the art in question may have enjoyed a long life in our particular region. Its tradition still existed in the II millennium. This would not be possible if between the Han and Yüan epochs there were no works of art which continued ancient forms. In the passage of years such forms underwent considerable transformation and change of style. But a criticism of style is always dangerous in the East, particularly in a region still obscure from want of serious excavations. Trusting to such a method one too easily forgets the possibility of the migration of objects easy to transport, and the more or less well developed capacities of the artisan. We must not neglect these sources of error.

On the other hand we should not be surprised to find an artistic retardation

at the Chinese frontier that does not exist in the centre of civilization. The reason for this phenomenon is in the fact that the people who produced this art, while not sharing the cultural life of the Chinese, still remained under conditions particularly favourable to a preservation of ancient forms. Very often the social element, in our case the preference for hunting and cattle raising, is a determining factor of this art.

Undoubtedly the relatively primitive state of these frontier people would not have been sufficient reason for the preservation of the different uses and varied ornaments, if the objects had been destined solely for practical purposes. This is only possible in exceptional cases. There are two principal categories of utilization that have very much in common. One is the equipment of the dead, the burial object; the other the scorceror's instrument, the equipment of the schamane. The ritual purpose in both cases explains the survival of the ancient forms and motives. It is always possible that in the course of time the original meaning had been forgotten.

An extraordinary amount of burial equipment is found in all the civilizations of antiquity. Numerous texts have proved it for China; Herodotus, for example, has proved it for the western Steppes. In the two extremes of the Steppes documental information has been confirmed by numerous discoveries. One that approaches fairly close to our region is that of Pasirik in the Altai (1). It is of particular interest in that it has given us in great quantity certain objects designed for burial, such as harness ornaments, pendants, and similar articles. At Pasirik the purely burial aim is corroborated by the material used, wood among others. Because of their fragility, such objects could never have been used for the purpose to which they seem adapted, as for instance a bit. On the other hand resplendent gilding could easily give them the appearance of precious metal.

It is not at all surprising that sorcerors' instruments should follow ancient models both in material and in ornamentation. Even of a recent date there are descriptions of schamanistic practises to which we might turn here. The latest publication in a western European language is that of Nioradse, who especially mentions Chinese texts according to which " the ancient Turkish tribes like their neighbours, the Huns for instance, adhered to schamanism " (2).

1) Material and technique.

It is certain that all the bronzes reproduced here have come from the ground. Experience gained in the study of European antiquities as well as of well known Chinese objects, has taught us that metal surfaces undergo considerable change when they have been in the ground for 2000 years. The study in Russian and Siberian museums of the results from trustworthy excavations lead us to the same conclusion. What is surprising, is that among the Chinese frontier bronzes there is a considerable number having but slight if any patina. The metal is generally a brownish yellow tarnished with black. It is evident that bronzes with

but slight patina are more likely to belong to a later period than those whose surfaces are decomposed. Such patina is to be found on all the objects of a group published by Pelliot. Thanks to his careful analysis we are spared a detailed study. They are amulet-seals from the region of the Ordos (3). Pelliot connects them with the Öngüts of the XII-XIII centuries because of their Nestorian ornamentation. We only remark on the relatively late date for bronzes with surfaces in this condition. If there is little or no decomposition, this condition of the bronzes still makes a late creation possible.

The method of casting also deserves to be considered. It is certainly not again necessary to mention the fact that the most ancient bronzes, both in China and in the circle of the Steppes, are technical masterpieces. In the majority of cases the method was that of casting by the " lost wax " process. Besides this method, there is in Siberia an infinitely more primitive process, that of casting in an open mold. In this case the underside is exposed to the air and is therefore covered with characteristic blisters. This technical process often demands a cleaning of the edges over which the molten metal easily overflows, that is to say, it demands a retouching which artists from our region often abandoned. This careless method is never found in Siberian articles of an early period, but only in later pieces, especially those from the vicinity of Tomsk. They are dated by Tallgren of the middle of the I millennium A.D. (4). I am inclined to make this period even later. Such a technical flaw would not have been possible at the northern Chinese frontier, except at a period where people of the same stock and of the same social status were undergoing conditions that brought about a weakening in technical skill.

2) Parallels in the Eurasiatic Steppes.

A comparison of sure materials should undoubtedly be considered as the best support for dating the art with which we are concerned. Since both use and ornamentation lasted over a long period at the Chinese frontier, a comparison does not permit us to place derived objects in the same period as their models, but later, sometimes very much later.

a) Minussinsk. There is no Siberian site of discoveries of which we shall speak so much in the following pages as the southern section of the Jenissei valley. In Chapter IX we shall deal with the uses peculiar to this region. But even when these uses have been noticed elsewhere, and earlier than at Minussinsk, one must often turn to this region in order to derive from there the decorations and the way in which they are treated. This is not at all surprising when one remembers that of all Siberian centres Minussinsk is nearest to the Chinese frontier. It is fortunate that S. Teplouchoff, the greatest expert in the art of the Jenissei, has built up a relative chronology of this region and has published explanatory drawings (5). We have reproduced on Plate III and IV the designs that deal with the metal ages.

The first metal group from Minussinsk which contains forms which are also found at the Chinese frontier is that of Plate III line III called by Teplouchoff that of " Kara-Suk ". He dates it about 1000 B.C. Tallgren has later mentioned that this date appears too early (6). If we allow a margin of a half millennium, we reach approximately the same date for the Kara-Suk civilization as for the beginning of Scythian art, the oldest art around the Black Sea. We might then give the same reason for the retardation experienced at the Chinese frontier of elements coming from the west as was undergone at Minnussinsk, that is the use of objects for burial ceremonials and for schamanism, uses for which conditions had changed or disappeared in the regions where these forms were created.

Teplouchoff calls the next Minussinsk civilization that of the Kurgans. He divides it into three periods which correspond to Plate III, line IV, 1-3. He gives no date to the first group of which there are numerous parallels in the art of our region. Characteristics of the two following groups are often repeated at the Chinese frontier. The Russian author dates them " middle of the I millennium B.C. ". It is only in the third Kurgan group that we find the use of iron supposed to have been brought by the Huns. Teplouchoff continues this period until the I century A.D. Von Merhart gives the same date to this civilization (7), but he calls it by another name, that of " separate tombs with stone slabs ". As is shown by Plate IV, line V-VII, 1, this period is followed by groups, poor in artistic form, that have no connection with the Chinese frontier. According to Teplouchoff, after the III or IV centuries the Minussinsk basin is occupied by the Kirghise. In the VI century their place is taken by the Turks. The Kirghise are there again in the VIII-X centuries, but they are, however, kin to the Turks who are the stronger tribe. Plate IV line VII, 2, gives us a good idea of their burial paraphenalia. There are many objects, repliquas of which are frequent at the Chinese frontier, repliquas that cannot possibly be dated earlier than their models. It is in this same period that we should place the stone documents of the Jenissei and of the Orkhon, although their artistic contribution is of little importance.

b) The Western Steppe.

From different artistic and cultural centres of the Steppes, influences went not only to the east but to the west. The astonishing similarity that is found in extreme sections of the Steppes has often been noticed. Sometimes objects from the west can be connected with historical events, as for instance, the famous occupation of land by the Hungarians, which took place in 896 (8). This is one more reason, although slight and isolated, for the existance of Eurasiatic forms after the Han epoch.

c) The Si-hias.

We have included some objects bearing Si-hia inscriptions only recently deciphered. Mr. Baruch has very courteously allowed me to insert here his study on Si-hia and K'i-tan writings.

THE WRITING AND LANGUAGE OF THE SI-HIA 西夏

by WILLY BARUCH

Ever since Edouard Chavannes brought back to Europe about 1870 the first rubbing of an inscription from the doors of Kü-yung-kuan (on the road between Peking and Kalgan) science has never ceased its attempt to solve the problems it involved. This inscription was written in a then unknown writing, but it was soon recognised as Si-hia.

The documents at our disposal in the first decades after the discovery included a few inscriptions on stone and on coins, but were so few that it was impossible to decipher this writing. This situation was radically altered when in 1900 Berteaux, Morisse and Pelliot found on the Pai-t'a (the so-called Coal Hill) near Peking, in a pile of refuse, among scattered papers and books, six volumes among which for example, was a translation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, all found to be written in the Si-hia language. They were gold characters on a blue background. Today three of these volumes are in the Prussian State Library in Berlin and three in the Guimet Museum in Paris. In 1908 Koslov discovered a tremendous library in a stūpa near Quara-qoto (also called Quara-Baising) not far from Edsin-gol. There were innumerable printed pages, manuscripts of books and rolls of writing in the Si-hia language. They were brought out and placed in the Museum of the Academy of Science in Leningrad. Later Aurel Stein during his third expedition into Central Asia in 1915, gathered from the same place another great quantity of Si-hia documents, nearly all of which are now in the British Museum in London. The latest great discovery of Si-hia writings, more than 100 volumes, was made during the excavations at Ning-hia in the province of Kan-su in 1929. All of this material was bought by the Peking National Library.

While studying these documents, texts were recognised transcribed in Chinese and Tibetan. There were dictionaries organised under every imaginable system; translations from Chinese and Tibetan, particularly of Buddhist works; works by Confucius; works on strategy; collections of maxims and celebrated sayings of various philosophers; " Serious Instructions " by different emperors; Tangute codes; even poetry that was purely Tangute. Thus it was possible to learn more and more of the rules of this very special writing and language which formed the historical foundation of a people who once spoke this language, of the dynasty that once ruled over them. But they have not nearly finished sorting the material from the enormous number of volumes. It is a tremendous work which will occupy science for many years to come.

Marco Polo has already mentioned the " peculiar language " spoken by the inhabitants of the Tangute Empire (cf. The Book of Sir Marco Polo ", ed. Yule and Cordier, vol. I p. 203). These people, their state and their language, have rather been introduced to European literature as the Si-hia (Western Hia). The Tangutes themselves use the expression Ta-hia 大夏 (Great Hia) in their

works written in Chinese, taking the name from the district Hia Chou 夏州 the ancient centre of the Tangut population and the dynasty founded in the same region by the Hun Heliabobo in the IX century, which he called Hia.

The name Tangut (-ud is the Mongol plural ending) which Marco Polo and Rasshid-eddīn use, has probably some connection with the Tang-hiang 党項 Huns who were divided into eight gentes, but descended from one: the T'o-pa 拓拔. The expression "Tangut" is found in the Sino-Turkish inscription of Kosho Tsaidam, of the year 734 (cf. W. Radloff "Alttürkische Inschriften der Mongolei", vol. I p. 58, Z.D.M.G. 1924-25, p. 144 sq., and V. Thomson "Inscriptions de l'Orkhon" pp. 123, 178).

In any case, the official name found in Tangut documents was in Chinese characters 瀎䭾領 (Mang-ming-ling) and was probably pronounced by the Tanguts ^{m}b'o-^{m}b'e-le. They called themselves "mi" or "me" (cf. Si-Hia "me" (man) with the Tibetan "mi" which has the same meaning). In some Tangut works we find the ending "mi- (or me-) le", i. e. "The empire of the Tang".

This empire was founded in 1032 by Li Têh-Ming and destroyed in 1226 by Čingis Khan. It comprised the territory between the 34° and the 42° North, and was bordered on the east by the Huang-ho and the province of Shan-si; on the west by the Küke-nōr; on the north by the city of Hami (Qomul), Edsingol, Alashan Mount, and the Huang-ho; on the south by the province of Ssï-chuan. The capital of the empire was a city which corresponds with the Ning-hia-fu of today, situated on the left bank of the Huang-ho. The population was made up of Tanguts, Tibetans, Chinese, Jurjen, Mongols, Turco-Tartars, above all, Uigurs. Buddhism was the state religion. The entire Buddhist canon was translated into the Tangut language. But there was also interest in Confucian literature; Chinese books were printed, schools were established after Chinese models in all prefectorial and district centres, and in 1154 they even founded a learned academy, an exact copy of the famous Chinese Han-lin office. In 1150 among others a certain Wa Tao-chung 韓道沖 (called Tsung-shêng 宗聖) was appointed by this academy, professor of Tangut and Chinese literature. Among other works he translated the Lun-yü of Confucius into the Tangut language, adding a special commentary of 30 volumes. Monks in their cloisters, the majority descendants of the Uigurs, western neighbours of the Si-hia, were charged with the study and translation of Buddhist texts.

A system of writing was used that, according to Chinese sources, was invented by the emperor Li Yüan-hao, and at his command, perfected by a certain Yeh-li Jên-jung 野利仁榮. He was probably only a reformer of the writing that, according to other sources, was invented by the Emperor Li Têh-ming, and, according to still further sources, by a certain Yü-Ki 遇乞. This form of writing was treated in the Chinese chuan ductus, as it is found, for instance, in the Shuo-wên dictionary. Thus Li Yüan-hao probably gave this writing its

standardised form which corresponded to the Chinese k'ai-shu style. These two types of writing, as well as the semicursive Chinese forms (hing-shu) and the Chinese abridged writing (ts'ao-shu), are found among the documents.

Still in 1916 Laufer wrote (T'oung Pao, vol. XVII p. 4-5), " It is perhaps the most complicated system ever invented by a human mind, — ideographic, like Chinese, the single characters being composed of a bewildering mass of irregular lines, in which no method or principle has as yet been disclosed ". — The basis of this writing is without the slightest doubt the ideography of Chinese characters of the chuan ductus. The ideograms are in part phonetic, in part they serve to transcribe Dhāraṇis, foreign words, Chinese and Tangut names of families and places, and in part to furnish grammatical particles. In dictionaries they are generally separated after the Fan-tsi 反切 method into two phonetic (Tangut or) Chinese characters. As ideograms are meant for the eye rather than for the ear, it is impossible to determine the phonetic equivalent, except when one knows what dialect of all the multitude of Chinese dialects is expected to be deciphered. The two Chinese ideograms were written, as was the custom, in columns. The sequence of characters was adapted from the sequence in vocabularies (particularly the one compiled in 1190 by the Tangut Ku-lo Mao-ts'ai 骨勒茂才, the Fan-han ho shï chang chung chu 番漢合時掌中珠) that is to say, the characters were read from right to left.

Thanks to this, it has been possible to decipher an increasing number of ideograms, their meaning as well as their phonetics. Finally it has been proved that they belong to the Tibeto-Burmese group of languages. In this group, among the languages still spoken today, that of the Lolo and of the Moso are the most similar. Using the first syllable of the words, Laufer has collected them in a group called " Si-lo-mo ". What is common to all of these languages is, for example, the lack of k, p, t as terminal consonants. The Tangut language had, like the Chinese, five different tones: the high even tone, the low even tone, the rising tone, the descending tone, and the sharp tone. The grammatical rules of the language are generally laws of harmony. Thus the adjective (the attribute), is sometimes found after the word to be explained, sometimes before (as in Tibetan). The verb (predicate) is always at the end of the sentence.

THE WRITING AND LANGUAGE OF THE K'I-TAN 契丹

by WILLY BARUCH

Si-hia writing is probably derived from that of the K'i-tan, but although we know considerably today about the language and writing of the Si-hia, we are as yet unable to say anything definite about the system of writing or about the language of the K'i-tan.

The history of this people, who during the XI, XII and XIII centuries played

an important role in the history of Central Asia and of the Far East, is recognised in Chinese texts, particularly in the K'i-tan Kuo Chih 契丹國志 and the Liao Kuo Chih 遼國志, the annals of its dynasty.

The name K'i-tan has been transmitted to us by Chinese records. In Mongol works one reads instead Kitat (in Mongol-t is simply a plural ending). Arabian authors write Ḫitai, and we find these people called Khitaï in inscriptions from the Orkhon. (Today Russians call China: Kitai).

Already about 440 the Khitaï are mentioned as a people, dependent upon the northern dynasty of the Wei, who lived originally as nomads at the confluent of the Śara-müren and the Lao-ho in the southeastern section of Mongolia, afterwards in northern Manchuria from whence they moved towards the South. According to Chinese traditions, these people descended from the Sien-pi 鮮卑 (Tunguses), who in turn pretend to descend from the Tung-hu 東胡 hordes. About 900 the Khitaï appeared as a powerful people composed of eight hordes, with a Great Khan called A-pao-ki 阿保機 (posthumous name : T'ai-tsu 太祖) as chief. His successor, Têh-kuang 德光 (posthumous name: T'ai Tsung 太宗) founded in 938 a special dynasty, that of the Liao 遼, which lasted until 1125. After the destruction of their state, the remaining Khitaï went west, past the Altai, until they reached the valley of the Ili, and there founded in the same year the Hi (western) Liao dynasty of the Khara Khitaï (Kerait) which continued until the year 1208.

According to the little we know of the Khitaï language, these people have been considered Tunguses. But from their vocabulary they seem more to be Mongols with a pronounced palatalisicatised dialect. In any case, however, the Dahures, who, like the Solones, consider themselves descendents of the Khitai, today speak a type of Mongol much mixed with Tunguse elements; the Solones even use the Tunguse idiom.

The state religion of the Khitaï as well was Buddhism, which spread through their land from 676 A.D. on. Schools, modeled also after the Chinese, were established.

They possessed a double system of writing: " large " letters, and " small " letters. The system of " large " characters was created by Chinese in 920 by order of A-pao-ki. It was composed of several thousand ideograms (cf. Ma Tuan lin, chap. 845, fol. 6 recto) which probably greatly resembled the writing of the Jurǰen. The other system was borrowed from the Uigurs.

[Among the documents know to us today, there are probably two Jurǰen writings (five characters in a Chinese work' about thirty characters in a Tibetan xylograph). The Library of the Academy of Sciences in Budapest possesses rubbings of the two inscriptions discovered in June 1922 by L. Kervyn in the tomb of the K'i-tan Emperor Tao Tsung (died 1101 A.D.), one composed of 583 characters, and the other of 586 characters].

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As we have just read, the writing of the Si-hias was first used in 1037. It must therefore have been invented but shortly before that date. As for objects from the Chinese frontier which bear Si-hia inscriptions, we are able to reach an exact date when the piece and the characters engraved upon it are of the same period.

3) Groups chronologically arranged.

One may be permitted to borrow names in use in the Celestial Empire with which to designate objects from the north of China, since the intercrossing and hybridism between China and the Euriasiatic Steppes brings this frontier art particularly close to the far eastern centre. When we use Chinese epochs we are able to form five principal groups :

a) The Han period (beginning of our era). We shall place here all that according to our actual knowledge agrees with the Scythians of the Black Sea (VII-IV centuries B.C.). Then all that is derived from their immediate successors, the Sarmatians (IV century B.C.-II century A.D.). Finally all that descends from the Kara-Suk civilization of Minussinsk.

b) Period of the Six Dynasties (more simply called, about the year 500 A.D.) The uncertainty of this group demands a certain leeway before and after this date. Objects connected with the Kurgan civilization are part of this group, also objects derived from Siberian gold plaques.

c) T'ang period (second half of I millennium). The number of objects to

be placed at the beginning of this period is astonishingly few. There is no sure means of dating them VII or beginning of the VIII century. In spite of this fact, the tradition has continued uninterrupted. Probably preceding forms survived with but little change.

d) Sung period (around the year 1000 and the beginning of the II millennium). The objects which correspond to Öngüt bronzes because of the condition of their surfaces, are placed here. Then all that contain elements of Turkish and Khirghise art. Finally all that can be connected with the Hungarian occupation of land, and the related phenomenon of the west.

e) Yüan period (first half of II millenium). This period must be understood in its largest sense. It may even be carried over the middle of the II millennium. It embraces all objects that for technical or artistic reasons should be considered late descendents.

NOTES OF CHAPTER V

(1) Soobtschenija.
(2) Nioradse, 1), p. 5.
(3) Pelliot, 4).
(4) Tallgren, 5).
(5) Teplouchoff.
(6) Tallgren, in Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, III, p. 187.
(7) v. Merhart, p. 178.
(8) Fettich.

CHAPTER VI

OBJECTS OF SCYTHIAN ORIGIN

Numerous works have acquainted us with the Scythians and their art, Rostovtzeff, Minns and Borovka have given us the latest scientific data (cf. Bibliography). From our standpoint, the fluctuation in the dating of certain monuments is of no importance, especially the question of whether the earliest period is to be considered the VII or VI century B.C. It is certain that the IV century is the latest.

Any connection due to a direct migration between Scythian territory and lands bordering China cannot be historically proved. Artistic forms from the extreme west may have been carried into China by some trade medium, such as intermediaries who received and used Scythian elements. If we examine the contents of Scythian tombs, the majority not sufficiently studied and not fully published, and if we put aside all things coming from the Near East and Greece, there will then remain as the patrimony of these people a well defined and often described treasure. Among the wealth of forms we find many types of implements that are duplicated at the Chi:..se frontier, such as standard-tops, harnesss appliques, and belt-buckles.

1) Standard-pole-tops.

To the east as well as to the west of the Steppes we are familiar with bronze sockets having on them animals or heads of animals, animals forming rattles or animals above rattles (1). There are usually two or four holes on the socket with which to attach it to the wooden pole.

a) Pole-tops affixed vertically.

The most obvious use for this object is that of crowning an upright pole. Rostovtzeff has proved it not to be a Scythian invention, but derived from the Near East (2). These decorated poles probably served as a commander's insignia, as an army standard, or for funeral ceremonies. Chinese texts speak several times of pole-bearers (3). The Turks, the most important neighbours of the T'ang Empire, are especially mentioned as having their standards crowned with gilded wolves' heads (4). It is also possible that these embellished caps of

wrought metal were used as finials on the four poles bearing the baldachin stretched over the body of a dead prince, and afterwards buried with him in his tomb.

The use of pole-tops was indigenous to the entire Steppe circle. Rostovtzeff believes, however, that they were unknown to the Sarmatians, the successors of the Scythians in Southern Russia (5). But they are found in the Ural (6), in the vicinity of Lake Baikal (unpublished), and, as we shall see, are very numerous at Minussinsk, that is to say in a locality where much was adopted from the Sarmatians.

The most simple form of pole-top is the animal head. In the vicinity of the Black Sea we find, among others, the bird of prey of Ulski Aul and the roe of Kelermes (7). An example of the latter left Russia with the Massonneau collection and is now in the Bliss collection. (Pl. V no. 1). It is a typical example of the way in which the Scythians combined stylization with naturalism. The main characteristics are seemingly modeled from life, expressive in form and design, but hardened into formulas. The process by which nature became standardised and was transformed into ornamentation is particularly apparent in the lanceolate drawing of the ears. The Kelermes roe head is treated in exactly this way. The only different detail is the ring below the head from which fluttering ribbons of felt or straw were probably hung. This piece, lacking though it is in archeological data, is placed historically at the beginning of the Scythian period, that is in the VII or VI century because of its artistic character and its identification with a sure discovery.

Although this same object is quite often found in the extreme southeastern sections of the Steppes, yet no specimen from this region can be given a date near to that of the Scythians. Here, the ornamentation of the object borrowed from the Scythians never has a Scythian appearance. As to the decoration of Chinese frontier examples, we must rather turn to the Jenissei valley, at Minussinsk. There, in the Kurgan period, the preference seemed to be above all for the representation on pole-tops of soliped animals. The species that inhabits the mountains has its " true to nature " aspect emphasised, by being placed upon a half-egg shaped base (Pl. III, line no. IV, 2, no. 82) which makes the animal appear to be standing upon a hilltop. The extent to which artists of the Jenissei valley were moved to represent realistically a specific animal is shown in the example from this famous group of excavations (Pl. V no. 2). The body is a rattle. This transformation of animal bodies into rattles was known in the most ancient Scythian art (8). The base, slit in four places, differs from the usual crested type from the Jenissei valley. The head, the most important part, has very distinctly the characteristics of the Saiga antilope, one of the favourite game-animals of southern Siberia. A comparison with the zoological description of this animal will show us how amazing is the accuracy of the artist's percep-

tion (9). We read that the body of a Saiga antelope is thick-set; the nose, longer than the jaws, is grooved; the nostrils and eyelids are hairless, and the lyre-shaped horns are curled down to their smooth tips. The artist only forsakes his model in the treatment of the ears. He subtitutes for their actual rather short size, a length reaching to the tips of the horns. This arbitrary change has a technical explanation in that some support for the horns was needed. A favourite motive from Minussinsk is the pierced eye and nostril, the holes being surrounded by a raised ring, but it does not interfere with the naturalistic effect of the head. It is rather the modeling of the legs as in many other pieces that contrasts with the rest. They are entirely out of proportion, nothing but supports with rings for joints, resting on hooves that are merely notched. Therefore this "true to nature" art of Minussinsk about which so much has been said, is sometimes limited to the head, and even there has adopted stylization since the effects of light and shade attained by piercing must be so termed. This example should be placed at about the beginning of our era.

The characteristics of Kurgan art at Minussinsk are repeated at the Chinese frontier. There too the soliped is clearly represented. The antlers of this stag (Pl. V no. 3) make it unmistakable. Represented more or less schematically it is found over all the Steppes. The eyeholes, slightly ringed, have without doubt been borrowed from the Jenissei valley, as has its stylised form. The animal stands upon a little ball-shaped rattle, under which there is a ring which passes through a loop that allows for the tying of ribbons. The imitation of nature is not limited to the head as the rattle is not one with the body, and it is therefore fresher and more natural than the Minussinsk antelope. But the artist has been satisfied with a summary repetition of what has already been done in the Jenissei valley, and details in the modeling are not clear. Its subjugation to the Siberian centre is certain. An approximate date of 500 A.D. seems to allow for the slight difference that separates it artistically from Plate V no. 2.

Plate VI no. 1 repeats the stag, with the artistic characteristics of Minussinsk, but with some considerable change. The fact that the slashed body has lost its natural appearance and yet is not exactly a rattle, speaks for a later period. Only the pierced eye reminds us of the original manner of reproducing this motive. The essential features, such as the antlers and upturned tail, are here subject to an ornamentation having nothing to do with nature. The legs are bent unrealistically, and decorated so that the lines repeat the slashing of the body. It is certain that such an untrue representation should be considered as belonging to the end of the Eurasiatic animal style. This final phase, when nature is forgotten, carries with it a dissolution in form. It should therefore be dated about 1000 A.D.

A pole-top crowned with a wild ass, of which there are several examples (Pl. VI no. 2), was also created under the influence of Minussinsk. The neck

and head are loose and can be added to the body by means of a short shaft, but we do not know why they are removable. At first glance the head seems well proportioned and well modeled. But if, however, we compare it with bronzes of the Kurgan period at Minussinsk, we find that here the legs are more detached. This stiffening in the shape of the legs has already been noticed in the Jenissei valley. The head also lacks the finest traditions in modeling, the animating perforations of the eyes are gone, only those of the nostrils remain. A loop placed on the socket is as usual for ribbons. It is however significant that in getting away from nature the tail has also become a loop. These details all point towards the second period of those mentioned in Chapter V, that is about 500 A.D.

We have already spoken of the use of the head of a bird of prey at Ulski Aul. The Scythian type is a flat plaque with the animal in profile and repeated three times along the rim. This, more than any other, has served as an ornamental motive. No examples in the round have been found in the Steppe region. Pole-tops from the Chinese frontier, however, are quite different (Pl. VI nos. 3 & 4), in that they are as naturalistic and as much in the round as at Minussinsk. Plate VI no. 3 is of an eagle as is shown by the arched and notched beak. The ear instead of the eye is perforated.

The other example (Pl. VI no. 4), is in two parts. Above a tube topped with a half ball, we find an eagle's head. Its short and round beak as well as its heavy neck justifies such a zoological designation. It has been impossible to determine why the upper section is removable nor what was the purpose of the hollow thus formed. Perhaps it was filled with small balls to serve as a rattle. All the plasticity and artistic formation of pieces from Minussinsk are lacking here. None of the characteristic perforations remain. The artist has worked independently, using his own ideas. This thrusting aside of the usual artistic formulas seems to me only possible at a relatively late date, that of about the middle of the T'ang period. The hedgehog pole-top (Pl. VII no. 1), from the point of view of style and date, seems close to that of the bird's head. Once more the piercing has been replaced by lines limited to only the essential elements.

The same remarks are applicable to the mating pigs (P. VII no. 2). The hog's jaws are slightly open, the sow is entirely one with the socket. A certain living quality remains, although there is but little movement in the drawing. Any connection with those elements of stylization that were indispensable at Minussinsk as well as to the Scythians is completely lacking, and therefore points towards a date of about 500 A.D.

The hedgehog is one of the family of sacred animals of Siberian schamanism (10). The pig, on the other hand, belongs to the Chinese frontier, as since earliest times it has been a domestic animal of China. The more or less nomadic barbarians were only interested in the wild species, the game-animal.

A curious example of rod and rattle seems more to be of Chinese origin than from the circle of the Steppes. (Pl. VII no. 3). The oblique position of this pole-top decoration is particularly unusual, but at the same time the socket made to fit a pole leaves no doubt as to its purpose. Here, the customary loop appears at the angle of socket and rod. Only geometric perforations decorate the disks that form the rattle, and are not much help for dating. Identical pierings can be found on pole-tops of probably the end of the Chou period, which are associated by Kalgren (11) with the solar disk. This piece is probably a radiation from China towards the north that took place in the first part of the I millennium A.D.

b) Small pole-tops affixed vertically.

Rostovtzeff considers the smaller bronze pole-tops of the type described above to be tops of walking-sticks, sceptres or swords (12). He mentions examples, not yet reproduced, from a Scythian tumulus (13). Knife-handles in bronze or bone with animal heads are found in the civilization of Ananino, that is to say in the upper valley of the Volga (14). We should add as a hypothesis their use as handles of whetting-stones, well known to us in Luristan art (15), but also found among the Scythians (16). Finally we should mention the possibility that miniature copies of decorated standard-tops may have been placed with the dead in their tombs.

Such a supposition seems justified if the shape of the animal makes any practical use seem improbable. That is the case with the small repliqua of the Saiga antelope (Pl. VII no. 4). The socket is missing, but the position of the legs, drawn together under the body, shows that there was once one. Only the horns and ears, the latter very small, allow for a zoological determination. The head appears conventionalized, but the open jaws and hanging tongue, probably observed in the hunted animal, add a certain life to the figure. The legs are bent as we noticed in Plate VI no. 1, and ill proportioned. Lacking as this piece does in all the Jenissei elements it must be placed at the end of the I millennium. A small pole-top, the socket-piece of which is only two flat plaques, each with two holes (Pl. VII no. 5), has a well observed but heavy ram with clumsy legs. This object enters into the T'ang epoch when the Jenissei forms were degenerating and proportions were weakening.

The idea that standard-tops may have been reproduced in miniature seems particularly convincing when we find a long stem between the animal and the socket (Pl. VII no. 6). Heikel states that he found traces of wood inside the socket of a piece connected with western Siberia (17). He calls this type of object a handle. But it is impossible, as with the two pieces described above, that the artist expected the object to be held in the hand; in this case the bear prevents such a supposition. While the animal head is lifelike the body is out of proportion, easily explained by the fact that it had to fit a narrow base.

What is less easy to undertstand is the reason for the large slit all along the back from neck to tail. This piece cannot be dated before the middle of the I millennium A.D.

The only small example that seems really adapted to be grasped as a handle is one where the animal form is part of the shaft. In this example of a ram (Pl. VIII no. 1) the simplified joining of the horns and ears may have been designed for such a purpose. It must be of the same date as Plate VII no. 4, therefore of the T'ang period.

c) Pole-tops to be affixed vertically with two or four supports.

Objects of a Scythian origin, when they reach China, become so transformed that their original purpose is modified. As soon as we find two or four supports instead of a socket, we are certainly no longer dealing with a pole or standard-top. There are simple examples of this type, the use of which is still unknown. Underneath a resting two-humped camel (Pl. VIII no. 2) there are two large pins with which to attach it. These pins also have holes allowing for the passage of horizontal bolts or pegs. The disjointed form and the bad casting dates it very late in the art of our limited region, that is the beginning of the II millennium.

A pole-top composed of three separate pieces and until now unduplicated in the west (Pl. VIII no. 3) has as base an elongated galoping horse. An example where the animal decoration has been treated and placed in the same way, and another piece with two animal-heads, have been reproduced and explained as being part of a horse's bit (18). Here, there are two round hollowed shafts serving as pegs, making such a use quite impossible. In these shafts there are transverse pieces so well adjusted that there can be no doubt of their being part of the object. The base is topped with two summarily modeled horses. One can see that the technique of the artist was unsure by the way in which the tails of the upper horses are attached to the hind legs, and the front hoof of the horse below is joined to its lower jaw. This piece also cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the I millennium.

With Plate VIII no. 4 its use as a pole-top is likewise uncertain. It is possible that these two stags may have served as a funeral statuette and should be included among the objects to be dealt with in Chapter IX no. 1 a). The four short legs perhaps stood on stakes. One can also imagine this piece so placed on a cart. In essentials these stags repeat the one on Plate V no. 3 and should therefore be dated about 500 A.D. They are different only in being more lively in movement, in the squatiness of the antlers and legs, and in the fact that the round and ringed perforations are not confined to the eyes, but are also at the upper joints. This emphasizing ornamentation is an often observed invention of the Sarmatians who later passed it on to the whole circle of the Steppes.

2) Appliques and small objects.

The Scythians from the Black Sea applied ornaments to their equipment and to the harness of their horses. They used gold and silver, bone and bronze. The custom of decorating reins and bridles came to them from the ancient East (19), and was adopted later on by all the horse-riding peoples of the Steppes. Since the discovery already mentioned of Pasirik in the Altai in 1924, we know objects of this type of the Sarmatian period, but these appliques are not of metal but of gilded wood, a substitute meant only for the dead. They have been preserved with their leather bridles (20). Small gold plaques dating from the Scythian period, about the VI century B.C. (21), were applied to birch or leather quivers. As to the large early pieces (Kelermes, Kostromskaja, Vettersfelde), they are thought to have been the centres of shields (22). Furthermore, head-gear, clothing and belts, could certainly have been covered with metal appliques. Thus the way in which such articles were used always reverts to Scythian art, although the ornamentation may be derived from their successors. The outstanding motive of these appliques is the animal, among the Scythians always alone or doubled in some heraldic way, never otherwise multiplied.

The majority of such examples have one or more loops with which to attach them. Others had holes which permitted their being sewed to leather or cloth.

a) The stag and the roe.

Nearly every possible way of depicting the stag has been exhausted by the Scythians. It stands, or its legs are bent and drawn under its body. The head is turned back or looks straight forward, with the antlers in the latter case usually following the outline of the back. The stag is found all over the Steppes on small, sometimes tiny appliques. It is particularly popular at Minussinsk (23) and pl. III, line IV, 2 no. 80) but it is impossible that the north of China forms which we are about to analyse can have been received directly from there. The majority of known examples, including those of the Loo collection, date from the end of the I and the beginning of the II millennium. Even in this period the stag has kept certain " true to nature " elements, but the progress in stylization is nevertheless very apparant.

In Plate IX no. 1 the resting position has been retained, but the head and antlers are too small for the body. The stag in Plate IX no. 2 is already rising and the antlers with their strong curve remind us of the stylization of western Siberia, of which some examples in gold are known to us. The composition where the head in profile rests against the hind-quarters but both antlers are drawn, has been found already among the Scythians (24). In many examples it is difficult to understand the arrangement of the legs. North of China repliquas are at times so exaggerated as to be inextricable (Pl. IX no. 3). The form is nearly that of a disk, slightly arched.

The idea of placing one animal above another (Pl. IX no. 4) must be considered an invention of our region as nothing similar has been found at Minussinsk nor among the Scythians and Sarmatians.

These animals when they are without antlers may be roe or hinds. The figure with back-turned head (Pl. IX no. 5) is known from a Minussinsk dagger (25). Strong stylization is shown in the separate head of a roe (Pl. IX no. 6). The under side is covered with round protuberances, probably weak imitations of the palmettes that appeared behind the heads of birds at the close of Scythian art (26). A square plaque without openwork (Pl. IX no. 7) has again no parallel in the west. It shows, in high relief, a standing roe. The barbarians at the Chinese frontier not only imitated the west, but, as we see here, towards 1000 A.D. they invented variations.

b) The antelope and the ibex.

We mentioned in our chapter on pole-tops the very definite characteristics of the Saiga antelope. This animal is discovered in our region on a tiny applique (Pl. IX no. 8). The perfection of its execution should justify its being placed at the beginnig of the second half of the I millennium.

Backward-turned and curled horns characterise the ibex. We find it on Scythian gold appliques. The refinement of the small piece (Pl. IX no. 9) makes it comparable with the preceding antelope, and therefore deserves the same date. In spite of its heavy body, but because of its good modeling, the ibex (Pl. IX no. 10) in low relief belongs to the T'ang period.

The separate head of this animal (Pl. IX no. 11), seems more stylized and should therefore be placed in the fourth group, about 1000 A.D. The same remark applies to the heraldic double-heads under superficially suggested leaves (Pl. IX no. 12) which, although they appear broken, are not.

The final phase of this art is represented in Plate IX, no. 13. Just what species of soliped this depicts cannot be determined, as the horns are merely undulating ribbons. The stylized elements have so completely submerged the naturalistic, and the casting is also so faulty, that a date later than 1000 must be given.

Three attractive appliques form a group apart (Pl. IX nos. 14-16). The simplest piece (Pl. IX no. 14) is that of a browsing ibex, whose hooves have a comma-shaped ornamentation. The body is well proportioned and but slightly modeled. Plate IX no. 15 is a heraldic doubling unusual in the Steppes, composed of the fore-quarters of two animals. With the third piece we find once more the Sarmatian animal combat. A wild beast, probably a bear, attacks a browsing ibex from behind. The horns are not curled but have the same comma-shaped ornamentation to which we have already referred. These three appliques prove once more that towards the end of the period, that is after 1000 A.D., side by side with poor and even geometric renderings, there were others relatively

near to nature, and at times even ancient motives reappeared. It is impossible to attribute varied yet contemporaneous styles to specific peoples; they appear, so to speak, in contradiction to each other; but this merely helps to prove the diversity of the artistic tendencies in our region.

c) The horse and the ass.

Draught and saddle animals are found in Scythian and Sarmatian art in combat with an enemy, and with some ornament used as decoration or as part of the animal. But only at Minussinsk, where we find both the wild and the domestic species, do they play an important part alone.

Plate X no. 1 is probably of a wild ass, particularly valued as a game-animal by the northern barbarians (27). This fairly large applique has a parallel in the Jenissei valley (28), which is surpassed from an artistic point of view by the object from the Chinese frontier. The ringed eye-holes, nostrils and mouth, bring it into close relationship with Minussinsk. A fresh and natural reproduction such as this may be placed about the year 500 A.D. A Han date would appear improbable, as the Siberian model was only created after the beginning of the millennium. Horses, usually small, but often very well drawn (Pl. X no. 2), were made a little later, probably at the beginning of the T'ang dynasty. This type, saddled or unsaddled, is often found at Minussinsk (29). The animal of Plate X no. 3 seems to be of no definite species, and is therefore a later piece (about 1000). It is alone here, but on Plat X no. 4 we find it doubled with some undeterminable vegetable growth where the two bodies meet. This plant decoration seems to be only a group of the same comma-shaped ornamentation which serves also to embellish the hooves, nostrils, ears and manes.

Plate X nos. 5 & 6 are characterised by the deterioration in technical skill and creative faculty found at the beginning of the II millennium. Between the chest and lower jaw of the galoping horse (Pl. X no. 5) there is a bird's head, a well known motive of early times, used to fill empty spaces. The modeling is without movement, the casting very careless. The latest of all the types is that of Plate X no. 6, specimens of which are frequently found. Any resemblance to nature has completely disappeared along with the modeling. Two animals have again been connected, but as always in this type, the smaller one is above the larger, and may perhaps be supposed to represent the colt. The distinctive tuft on each animal contrasts with the otherwise bad proportions and monotonous details. This group of horses of a primitive style yet of a late period has a curious parallel in the west, where, however, the same artistic deterioration took place in a much shorter lapse of time. A horse, or another animal with its young, is often found in the Caucasus on square openwork belt buckles (30). There again the composition is one of piling up, but the latter pieces must be placed at the beginning of our era. Probably our specimens from the Chinese

north have nothing directly to do with those from the Caucasus. The two extremities of the Steppes seem rather to be in harmony in the last phase of a development which may have been either of a slow or rapid tempo.

d) Other domestic or game animals.

It might be possible to prove that the ram was reproduced alone in Scythian art if small Scythian appliques were more fully published. This animal, however, is fairly often encountered in some composition with other animals (31). It is always the wild species (Argali) that is reproduced, the horns of which are much larger than those of the ibex, and their strong and full curve develops very soon after birth. This animal is represented with striking naturalism in recent finds from the Altai, of which we have already spoken (32). We place at the end of the T'ang period the ram (Pl. XI no. 1) contorted in a usual Scytho-Sarmatian way. A loop on the outside surface is unusual. The two heads (Pl. XI no. 2) must be later, about 1000. The inorganic connection of motives should be noticed here, for above the rams an indistinct bird's head may be recognised. Another similar head stands out much more clearly on a gold-leaf ornament decorated in the same way (Pl. XI no. 3). In the latter piece the details are more flowing, the lines more agitated, the result of the technical process of stamping. As the ornamentation is so similar on the two pieces, each is given the same date. The latest Russian excavations in the Republic of Tannu Tuwa (Russian Museum, Leningrad, unpublished), prove that the use of thin gold-leaf on cloth is not confined to the western Steppes.

The buffalo is also represented in Scythian art. We find it on Sarmatian belt plaques at Minussinsk. A small applique (Pl. XI no. 4) is so similar to this latter group (33), that we must date it about 500 A.D., a period which closely follows that of its model. What is most typical is the way in which the head is turned around full-face, and also the stylization of the folds of flesh into comma-shaped ornamentations. The buffalo of Plate XI no. 5 repeats the stag of Plate IX no. 3 in the way in which the body is constructed and in the arched curve of the surface. They agree so closely artistically, that the same period should be given them, about 1000 A.D.

A reproduction, after 1000 (Pl. XI no. 6), is in contrast to the above pieces. Nothing remains of the rich designs and careful modeling. The artist has deliberately used perforations as decorative and disintegrating elements. The same difference from the point of view of art and period may be noticed in the two buffalo-heads (Pl. XI nos. 7 & 8). First there is the clear and sharply modeled motive (Pl. XI no. 7) which was created no earlier than the T'ang period, but seems associated with the art of the Chou. Next comes the degenerate and broken up attempt (Pl. XI no. 8) which must have been created at least 500 years later than its prototype. It is heraldic and simplified, and of a certain charm because of its savage quality.

The Steppes made willing use of the boar's head on appliques (34). But they emphasized that it was the wild, hunted animal that interested them, for the tusks are never missing. The barbarians of the northern frontier are more apt to depict the domestic pig which was familiar to them through their association with China (Pl. XI no. 9). The surface is often smooth or ornamented with stylized nets of lines. These two summary ways of dealing with the surface are far enough away from nature to justify a date corresponding to the beginning of the II millennium. When compared with the preceding pieces the doubling of the motive (Pl. XI no. 10) agrees very well both as to date and as to design.

The dog is but rarely found before the period admitted for the latest pieces, nor do we see it very much later on. Its appearance (Pl. XI no. 11) is so completely transformed by ornamentation, that a designation would be very difficult were it not for the collar and tufted tail. The hair has been represented by little spiral or parallel lines. The dog, therefore, easily joins the late period to which are relegated the majority of small appliques.

e) Bird-heads.

While the Scythians as well as the inhabitants of the centre of the Eurasiatic Steppes, the Ural, and countries influenced by this region, often used in some heraldic way the whole figure of a bird, the barbarians from the Chinese frontier only favoured a use of the bird's head. There are few motives in the art of the extreme sections of the Steppes where the accord is so pronunced. Borovka has grouped together the separate and most ancient represention of the west. (37). Until now these bird profiles were thought to be eagle-heads, a dangerous robber-bird to the Steppe people, often found on gold and bronze objects, where it has all the characteristics of the species, particularly the feathered head (36). But at other times they probably intended to represent the vulture, no less familiar in Eurasia, since occasionally there are no feathers, but instead, the characteristic beak with large cirrus and hooked-shaped end (37). When we come to objects from the Chinese frontier derived from the west, the distinction between the eagle and the vulture has been either erased or forgotten, but there is however nearly always some means of distinguishing them.

The most ancient example of the vulture is probably of the Han dynasty or immediately after (Pl. XI no. 12) It repeats the pole-top from Ulski Aul of the first Scythian period (38). All the details have been adopted, even the beak curved into a loop and the double drawing of the lines. This type, already transformed into an ornament in the vicinity of the Black Sea, lives on in the east until the end there of all artistic production. With Plate XI. no. 13 we approach 500 A.D. We recognise the ringed eye of Scythian art, and the hollowed ear is now a pointed oval, a motive that has also been placed between beak and ear, and again behind the ear. There are prototypes towards the end of Scythian art that show hybrid combinations of eyes and beak (Pl. XI no. 14) as for example

the gold applique from the excavations at Ogus on the Dniepr (39). This composition can only be explained as a multiplication of bird-heads, not as an animal combat, nor as a " coq de mer " (40). We are here able to trace back to the IV century B.C. the geometric transformation that took place at the Chinese frontier about 500 A.D. The smooth piece (Pl. XI no. 15), also of about 500, again represents a vulture, but the drawing of the plumage on a contemporary piece (Pl. XI no. 16) makes one rather think of an eagle or crow.

Birds seen full-face are no less richly varied than those in profile. Our examples are easily grouped one after the other. A tiny object (Pl. XI no. 17) uses the Minussinsk piercing of the eye, but is so geometric in design that it must be dated about 1000. The head, altrough simplified, is clearly that of a vulture. There is another vulture's head placed on an oval background (Pl. XI no. 18) which lacks perforations as well as clear proportions, and therefore also seems to be of about 1000. This background has been altered into a halo of feathers behind the eagle of Plate XI no. 19, of the same date. Plate XI no. 20 shows us once more an owl's head of which we spoke when dealing with Chou bronzes. The piercings are missing, but the surface is so well modeled that it would seem possible to chose a date for it near the end of the Han period. We find the same bird, here clearly feathered (Pl. XI no. 21), placed on a medallion, but so conventionally stylized that it belongs to the end of the I millennium. Even the transformation of the bird into some fabulous animal is not lacking after 1000 (Pl. XI no. 22). The large ears, spiral drawn as in the Altai, remind us of the griffon. Only the curled crest, a usual attribute, in missing here, but may have inspired the numerous notches of the edge.

f) Wild animals.

It is not always possible, even in Scythian art, to know just exactly what wild animal is represented. The best known piece of the first western period, the large gold plaque of Kelermes (41) has been called a tiger, a lioness and a panther. At the Chinese frontier there are forms derived directly from Kelermes without intermediary stations. Not only the general use, but also the details and the ornamental form, come from western art of the VII-VI centuries B.C. This strange phenomenon may be explained in several ways. Scythian smiths themselves may have migrated towards the east or perhaps only their work, bequeathed by one generation to another, may have permitted a renaissance of ancient forms in a neighbouring yet distant country. Let us call the Kelermes animal a tiger. The beast of Plate XII no. 1 closely resembles it. Instead of oblique cuts separating various parts of the body, we find here a strong modeling, also typical of gold Sarmatian pieces, emphasising the legs. There is a motive particularly Scythian in the animals of a parade-axe also from Kelermes (42). It is the formation by means of small round holes of the ears, the eyes, the nostrils, the paws, and the ends of the tails. These holes in the east were often inlayed with

colour. There are pieces similar to the one reproduced here from the north of China, inlayed with turquoise (Museum of Far Eastern Art, Cologne). The example from the Loo collection repeats the circular perforations at the ear, the eye, the paws, and at the end of the tail. This animal called with certain reservations a tiger, surpasses, with its freshness and vitality, the Kelermes example. The natural effect is a great deal due to the half-turned head. If one keeps in mind the dates of its prototypes, the piercing from the Scythians, and the modeling from the Sarmatians, one should reach the Han period.

The development of the motive begins with Plate XII no. 2. All that was in the round in the tiger-piece here appears flat. There are still perforations on the paws, double-ringed at the eye, emphasizing the shoulder and haunch, like slits at the nostrils, and repeating the outline at the ear. The head with its symetrically drawn mane and long ear is nearly ass-like. Its flat surface alone makes us advance almost into the middle of the I millennium.

The piece (Pl. XII no. 3) is no later, but the piercing has entirely disappeared. In exchange, a linear design decorates the legs and tail. Only towards the end of the millennium do we return to modeled wild animals (Pl. XII no. 4). The artist has again undoubtedly given a plastic gradation to the surface, but the elasticity of the body has not been retained. Only the ear and jaws are pierced. The ring-shaped paws have disappeared. We have reached the end of the Scytho-Sarmatian motive in the east, an end that only differed from the beginning by barely perceptable signs.

Besides the above tiger-shaped applique, there is another type. That of Plate XII no. 5 must be derived from Minussinsk, without, however, our being able to point directly to its prototype. This beast is better characterised than the preceding ones, but more strongly stylised. The eye, the nostril, the jaws, the cheek and the ear are pierced, and there are slits decorating the body, all framed with a raised ring as at Minussinsk. These perforations are never in the Jenissei valley nor in our region, for the purpose of inlay, and are therefore contrary to Scythian art. They are only an essentiel form of ornamentation by which a certain play is given to the surface. The three-holed paws are a favourite Minussinsk design (43). Just as with all pieces closely allied to the Kurgan civilization, we date this object about 500 A.D. It also appears contemporary to the objects of Plate XII nos. 2 & 3, which show how dissimilar representations of the same subject may be. They are either the work of different peoples, or the work of a people living at the Chinese frontier who used many different models.

A new interest in nature, apparent in Plate XII no. 6, arose towards the end of the millennium. The perforations are lacking and the proportions and modeling are faulty. This walking animal might be either a lion or a bear.

It is only rarely in the east that one can term an animal representation a lion,

as the mane is not usually drawn. But in the Scythian region and even in the Pre-Scythian period when it was connected with the antique east, this wild beast is distinctly reproduced. We have only to remember the well known first find from Maikop (44). Later, in the Scythian art of the V and IV centuries we notice a Greek influence, especially in the drawing of the lion. At the Chinese frontier this animal was not a native beast, and the artists from our region must have borrowed the details from western models, but they never clearly represented this species. It is possible that we should consider the animal of the large applique (Pl. XIII 1 & 2) a lioness. The surface has in general a flat treatment, but the strong relief of the head seems to be as much in keeping with ancient Scythian art as with the Chinese art of the Chou. We have already remarked upon the strange combination of low and high relief that belongs to both arts (cf. Chapter III). The most important western example is the gilded animal found at Simferopol (45). Thanks to the collector Massonneau a nearly identical repliqua is now in the Bliss collection (New York). Concerning the use of the Scythian object, an observation made by Rostovtzeff is of particular interest. He considers it an applique from the lid of a quiver (46). A Han date, however, seems to me impossible for the Chinese animal, in spite of its kinship with its occidental prototype. It has against it the careless casting and the ragged outline. The disproportionate size of the paws and tail does not conform to an early period. The detail of the head (Pl. XIII no. 2) shows the spiral design of the ears already noticed in Plate XI no. 22, typical of the art of the Altai. The combination of ancient Scythian elements and the anatomical uncertainty of the modeling should justify a date about 500. The applique of Plate XIII no. 3 should also probably be considered a lion, but with foreshortened legs. Remains of its prey, the curved horn and head of an antelope, lie at its feet. When we deal with belt plaques we shall again speak of wild animals and their victims, and of their Jenissein model. The general flat treatment and the indistinct rendering of the prey makes us turn to the end of the millennium. At this turning-point in art we even find a strange and entirely unrecognisable creature complete with the claws of a wild animal (Pl. XIII no. 4) and crowned with a strange shape, half tuft, half ear; the tail grooved in several places has the old Scytho-Sarmatian motive, the bird-head tip.

This last example brings us to the stage where any zoological determination of these reproductions of wild animals is quite impossible, as is the case with a group of undefinable animals reproduced on Plate XIV. There is a tendancy in the outline of the head of Plate XIV no. 1 to separate it from the whole, as Schmidt has already noticed in late Scythian art (47). According to Scythian prototypes one would expect to find a bird's head back of the mane (cf. Plate XXIV no. 5). The drawing here is weak and the curled forelock and the spiral below the jaws are a part of the badly understood rudments. On the

applique (Pl. XIV no. 2) we find the wild animal degenerated into a flat plaque with geometric spiral ornaments and striped ribbons characteristic of a period after 1000. In front of the jaws are two deer-heads, below the head and under the belly, two ibex-heads. Such a composition where all is decoration and where there is no natural connection between the motives, is impossible at the beginning of the artistic production of the Steppes.

The invention of doubled heads connected with one body is typical of a progressive stylization (Pl. XIV nos. 3 & 4). First we see striped ribbons in spirals on a body drawn in an S-curve, ending in two heads of a wild animal type, with a plant growth of some kind in front of each head. The second example (Pl. XIV no. 4) shows us a flattened repliqua with weak drawing, an altered plant design, and a change in the ornamentation of the ear and jaws. Another piece must be added to this group (Pl. XIV no. 5) because of its simplified and extremely weak form, the primitiveness of which shows it not to be of the hesitating character of a beginning, but rather of the faltering quality of an end (again II millennium).

Among tiny wild animal appliques there is a curious type to which I should like to give the name of animals with pincers (Pl. XIV nos. 6 & 7). The larger piece (Pl. XIV no. 6) may be derived from Minussinsk. The original form was certainly of a tiger the coat of wich is represented by strong oblique stripe-like lines. An example from the Jenissei valley will soon be published (48). A distinct contribution from the Chinese frontier are the open jaws shaped like the pincers of a crawfish, a local invention of what would seem to be about the II millennium. In Plate XIV no. 7 the pincers are of extraordinary dimensions in proportion to the rest of the animal. Perforations take the place of stripes and are unlike those of Plate XI no. 6 in that they do not go through to the back.

g) Wild animal-heads.

Some heads, seen full-face, may perhaps come from Scythian art of the V and IV centuries. This is particularly true of the tiger's head (Pl. XV no. 1). By placing the emphasis on eyes and nose, a form of stylization, already found on the sides of an openwork applique from Ogus (49), is continued to the end of the I millennium. The latter has in the centre a bear's head with open, perforated jaws. The same general type has also been found at the Chinese frontier with but unimportant changes, such as the ears being also pierced (Pl. XV no. 2). This is of the same period as the head mentioned above, the repliqua of the other part of the Ogus applique. In order to call with any authority the animal of Plate XV no. 3 a lynx, we have only to compare it with a Minussinsk plaque (50), but the Chinese frontier example seems also to have some connection with Han tiger-masks. The ears and whiskers show a slight tendency towards a geometric stylization which makes 500 the earliest possible date.

A fox-head of about the year 1000, very much stylized, is one of many similar

small appliques (Pl. XV no. 4). Its artistic kinship to the vulture-head of Plate XI no. 17 is striking. Since we know no western prototype, we must consider it an invention from our region. The doubling of the motive with holes more or less pierced and ringed, is only a variation without change (Pl. XV no. 5). Andersson has pointed out in what way this ornament was made entirely geometric (51). The last phase before the complete overthrow of all natural elements is especially well represented in the Loo collection by Plate XV no. 6. In this case the departure from realism is less akin to the fox-head described above than to the wild animal-head of Plate XV no. 1, where there is the same repetition of the outline by inner lines.

h) Coiled animals.

With the resting stag, the coiled animal forms part of the most ancient and at the same time the most widespread of motives in the art of the Steppes. It can be followed in all its phases, from the first find at Kelermes (52) with naturalistic and stylized elements, down to the degenerate forms of the Ural (53) and of the Jenissei valley. Let us say once and for all, that the examples from the Loo collection all belong to a period of about 1000 or after, and are more related to Minussinsk than to the region that saw the birth of the motive.

Already there is scarcely any modeling in the coiled animal of Plate XV no. 7, fairly easy to recognise as a lynx. There is a border of bird-heads and a ringed hole in the centre. The rings which emphasize certain parts of the head are very distinct. Plate XV no. 8 shows a wolf's head in profile. The slightly decorated tail turns way around above the head. There are no real rings as in the former piece, and the forms in the centre seem rather to be claws. A bronze from Lake Baikal (unpublished) is similarly arranged. A bird-head (Pl. XV no. 9) has transformed this piece into a fantastic creature. Rings, concentric circles and stripes, all stand out clearly. A two-headed body (Pl. XV no. 10), also coiled, is a wild beast at the outer curve, a bird at the inner. Only the heads are perforated; following the contour there is a design that might be a mane.

A last lingering of the motive is found on Plate XV nos. 11-13. Here, as in the Ural (54), there are two animals of the same species, perhaps two bears encircled by a beaded ribbon (Pl. XV no. 11). The limbs of the animals do not form the centre, but a deer is turned in the axis. The three pierced eyes help us to understand the design, and the only other perforations are on the hindquarters of the bears. The combination of two animals and their prey is also found in the Ural (55). The example of Plate XV no. 12 is a repetition of the first coiled animal of the Loo collection (Pl. XV no. 7), but less clear, flattened and only slightly perforated when at all. It has been embellished with a beaded ribbon and with two bird-heads in the centre. As usual, we find an incomparable primitiveness in the last phase (Pl. XV no. 13). An outer edge surrounds an entirely inarticulated animal, the head of which is seen full-face. Perforations,

the only surface ornamentation, are at the paws and eyes. The coiled animal, this particular invention of the Steppes and only indigenous there, follows the whole development of art in the east, but numerous examples are found only of its last phase.

i) Human representations.

It has always been claimed that human figuration played but a minor role in the circle of the Steppes. However it is never entirely missing, not even among the Scythians. In the western group there are appliques in the shape of heads, beardless and with hair brushed back (56). We must add to this type the much more naturalistic representation of Plate XVI no. 1. The coarse hair and slanting eyes remind one of a Mongol. Altogether it gives the impression of a portrait. We place it at about the middle of the I millennium. This motive reaches the end after 1000, once as a pendant, once as an applique, as is shown by Plate XVI nos. 2 & 3. That is to say it has become ill proportioned and of a primitiveness where its charm is not due to artistic skill but to the entirely accidental expression. Variations of this type are extremely numerous.

Side by side with the masque, purely of the Steppes, is another of Chinese influence (Pl. XVI no. 4), where we find a demon derived from Han and T'ang ornaments (57), complete with heavy moustache and hair dressed in three curls, and with a wrinkled forehead that, like the muscles of Buddhist temple guardians is an uncomprehended ornamentation. The lower lip is now a loop with the remains of a hook at the centre. This piece would seem to be of about the end of the T'ang period.

The man on horseback, usually a very small applique, is popular in the Minussinsk region (58). There, at the earliest, it is of the second half of the I millennium (Pl. IV, line VII, 2 no. 57), so that the repliqua from the Chinese frontier cannot be pre-T'ang. Examples from the two regions are often identical. Sometimes we find a naturalism due to Chinese influence that gives a certain modeling to the man and that provides some realistic details to the general composition which otherwise is carelessly drawn (Pl. XVI no. 5). It seems possible, therefore, to place this figure towards the end of the T'ang period. But we are past the millennium as soon as we find a completely primitive style (Pl. XVI no. 6). The horse is now only a fabulous creature, superficially drawn, with fantastically shaped tail and mane. There is no modeling and the surface is covered with incised lines that are nearly meaningless.

k) Bridle ornaments.

This group differs from the last particularly by its elementary form. Objects of this type are either S-shaped or rectangular, and instead of being round or horizontal as were the preceding appliques, they are narrow and usually made to be placed upright. They must have served to decorate bridles. Purely ornamental S-shaped forms are frequent at Minussinsk (59). Once

more it is only the fact that in the Steppe region bridle-reins were also covered with bronze appliques that permits any connection with the north of China.

Plate XVI no. 7 gives us the elementary form. It is an S-curve ending in two heads and with the fore-quarters of two tigers facing in opposite directions. The modeling which is only at the shoulders, is of such small importance that we reach a date of about 1000, a date that for the same reason must be admitted for the following examples. In place of the simple S we find another doubled and composed of serpents instead of tigers (Pl. XVI no. 8). The artistic characteristics are very similar. An assymetrical form such as Plate XVI no. 9 does not appear to be exceptional. The upper half is like Plate XVI no. 7 in profile, while the lower part is a straight bar representing a tiger seen from above. Wild animals with their prey is a very common motive in the Minussinsk repertory. On Plate XVI no. 10 we find a hare before the jaws of each tiger and a boar between the two bodies. But there are multiple ways of dealing with this idea. On the upper half of a piece (Pl. XVI no. 11) one sees the fore-quarters of a tiger in profile, while the head is full-face. A boar is found over the head of the wild animal and its prey. Another boar again separates the two parts. Plate XVI no. 12 shows us an even richer composition. In place of hares the tigers are surrounded by hedgehogs, three above and two below. The confused and fantastic rendering of Plate XVI no. 13 is of two tigers, their form reminding us of the primitive interpretation, but here obliterated. Then come the customary hare-heads followed by two elongated deer. These animals one after the other form an irregular square with the principal motive repeated four times in the centre. So much metal has been taken away that the applique is given the effect of openwork.

Two hares, between which there is a plaque decorated with the meander-design (Pl. XVI no. 14), are more plastic in form. The purely geometric pattern of the meander motive connects this piece more than the others with Chinese art, although this is not sufficient reason for an earlier date.

We come with Plate XVI no. 15 to the rectangular shaped bridle-appliques. They are filled with openwork animal representations. First we find one of the motives just described but very clearly intended to be placed horizontally. Again before each animal is the head of its prey. Although this piece has not an unusual appearance, it is a somewhat isolated example. It resembles the Hun and Avar pieces from Hungary (60). This, as well as the other rectangular bridle appliques, is certainly of about 1000. There is no parallel in the circle of the Steppes for the multiple animal motive, and it must therefore be considered a specialty of our region. On Plate XVI no. 16 we have an ibex repeated four times and alternately facing to the right and to the left. This differs from its model (Pl. IX no. 9) only by weaker modeling and less accurate proportions. On the fore-

quarters of four resting deer we once more find perforations, but limited to the ears (Pl. XVI no. 17).

Another type of bridle applique (also of about 1000) must be added here, although the arrangement of curved lines and other decorations connect it with the following group. These are the very stylised compositions of the period after 1000 (Pl. XVII nos. 1 & 2). Both are grouped around a small central knob and made up of interlaced scale-like ribbons in an S-shape. In one example (Pl. XVII no. 1) they end in bird-heads and tails, and in the other (Pl. XVI no. 2) in four bird-heads of a vulture or eagle type. In each case the surface is treated in the same way. Thus different examples need not vary considerably as to period in spite of the diversity of their artistic treatment and of their subject matter.

l) Pendant plaques.

The link between the three following examples and the two preceding ones is the importance of the round knob in all five pieces. With the larger knob the decoration is emphasised in one direction, presumably below it, thereby forming an ornament that justifies the title of this sub-heading.

Plate XVII no. 3 may have been created before 1000. Two animal-heads that have borrowed the horns of the ram and the beak of the bird,form wings at either side of the disk. A floral motive with a deep centre groove was perhaps inlayed. Plate XVII nos. 4 & 5 correspond from the point of view of date with Plate XVI nos. 16 & 17, but from the point of view of style with the preceding illustration. The bird on the first piece ends in a spiral and is connected with a four-petaled knob of geometric design. On the rather large disk of the second is an animal so indistinct as to be unrecognisable. Below are two bird-heads between which is a three-leaved palmette, the decoration of which gives it the appearance of a geometric rather than of a floral design.

There are also representations of wild animals in pendant-plaque form, the best of which go back to the T'ang period. This is the date we should like to give to Plate XVII no. 6, for the distinct drawing of the predominant tiger-head deserves a relatively early date. It surpasses Plate XV no. 3 with its strong plastic quality. In the jaws of the tiger is a C-shaped curve ending in bird-heads.

The animal decorated pendant-plaque develops independently and treats the representation of animal-bodies in a distinctive way. At the end of the millennium and even later the head joins a body which is seen from above. Plate XVII no. 7 shows us again one head with two bodies, but the modeling has disappeared and is replaced with a stylised design. Plate XVII no. 8 simplifies this type even more by emphasising the fore-legs of only one body of what appears to be a bear.

Pendant-plaques must be considered another specialty of the Chinese frontier, as they are not known in other sections of the circle of the Steppes.

m) Decorated rings and ring-holders.

Rings having animal-forms on their rims served a purpose that is not always clear. It is possible that this group may have some connection with one to which we shall give the name of " Chain-Holders " (Cf. Chap. VIII, 1). There is little doubt that in certain cases they are ear-drops.

A decoration that continues all round the ring has been seen in western sections of the Steppes. In the Caucasus an example has been found ornamented with several bird-heads (61). A similar object has appeared in the Ural, but limited to four heads (62). Certainly a late Scythian creation is the ring with three indistinct ornaments found by Brobinskoj near Tschigirine in the neighbourhood of Kiev (63). Such objects, therefore, were in use at the earliest periods of Steppe art.

Examples from the Chinese frontier, however, must be dated much later. Plate XVII no. 9 reminds us of Scythian prototypes, but the stags that here surround the ring are such stunted creatures that this piece brings us considerably past the millennium. The two horse-heads above another ring may be dated a little before 1000 (Pl. XVII no. 10). Their affinity with the Minussinsk model is evident. The same must be said of the lynx or tiger of Plate XVII no. 11, the body of which forms the upper part of the ring. Plate XVII no. 12 must be associated with the pendant-plaque. A square loop holds a C-shape ending in a bird form already noticed in Plate XVII no. 4.

In China proper we also find money used as pendants, amulets or appliques (64). This custom was especially popular with the barbarians of the north. We may presume that the examples from the Loo collection were cast at the frontier after Chinese models. Plate XVII no. 13 falls very well under this heading because of the way in which the seemingly paradoxical use of the object is emphasised. Of the four animals that stood at each side there are only two complete, one horse and one bird. The only character that can be read on the cash is also found on an undecorated coin from Troitzkossavsk at the northern border of Mongolia (65). It is the number 5. The animal-forms seem to prove a date after the middle of the I millennium. Plate XVII no. 14 shows us a pendant ring that was attached by a small loop. In its normal position the inscription would be incorrect, which leads me to believe that it was made outside of China. W. Y. Ting, of the Chinese Institute of Frankfort, believes three of the characters to be : " man ", " one thousand ", and " days ". According to Ting there are two ways of deciphering the fourth character: it can be either " gold " or " Liao ". In the first case the inscription would hold the customary good wishes, in the second it would contain an allusion to the barbarian K'itan dynasty that in the X century occupied the north of China. A date of about 1000 would then be justified, and seems to be the most probable in any case. The other side of the cash also bears an inscription very kindly deciphered

by Willy Baruch. He believes that its meaning is approximately "may the ancients not forget each other".

n) Tassel-holders and lids.

It is difficult to decide upon the use of the two objects placed under the above heading. The disk decorated with the head of a bird was probably placed so that the head looked down. It was then for the purpose of holding a tassel. This would explain the hole in the middle of the head. Schmidt has classified similar objects (66). In our chronological arrangement the animal-form on this piece places it about the year 1000.

The position of the animal on Plate XVII no. 16 makes its use as a lid seem likely. We know of lids from the Caucasus with sculptured handles in animal-form, probably of a pre-Scythian period (67). Here, above an arched disk, is an ibex with perforated eyes of the usual Minussinsk type. Horns and body lack vitality, although some understanding of nature is still apparent. This piece, certainly very charming artistically, is therefore of about the end of the T'ang period.

3) Belt-hook-clasps.

Scythian artistic documents have been classified several times according to period by Rostovtzeff (68). He points out that in the second period of this art, limited to southern Russia, there appeared entirely new forms of which the belt-hook is one. We are not here concerned with the question of whether it was from the Near East or from Greece that it was brought to the west of the Steppe circle. The most important finds of this type are those of Alexandropol on the Dnieper and those of Mastiugino at the middle of the Don (69).

a) Horizontal clasps.

At Alexandropol the clasp in made up of a hook having at the larger end an animal in the shape of a flat plaque. At Mastiugino we find another form that has a modeled animal-head at one extremity that is, however, no larger. It is the latter type that the Scythians passed on to the upper valley of the Volga called, after a village situated there, Ananino (70). There a loop sometimes takes the place of the button-shaped protuberance placed behind the wider part (71). The belt-clasp reappears once more in the Ural but with a wide shield (72). It passes on towards the east to succeeding civilizations. Since of all these regions, the Jenissei valley is the nearest intermediary to China, examples from there deserve our particular attention.

There has been but little written about the Minussinsk clasps. They are found in that district of about the beginning of our era, sometimes formed of a simple hook that changes into a bird-head ornamentation at about the centre (Pl. XVIII no. 1). After the bird comes the head of a horse following in the direction of the hook, and at the opposite end is a ring-shaped opening. In another example (Pl. XVIII no. 2) the hook remains smooth while at the heavier

end of the curve appears a modeled ibex-head, perforated at the under side. The horns serve as decoration for about half the length. As far as we know, the wide-plaque type is unknown at Minussinsk. In Siberia it is only found of a later date, as for instance the example from the Altai (73) which should be dated from the VIII century, and which therefore gives us important proof of the long duration of the belt-clasps in this region.

China of the Chou period did not know this object. The Far East must have received it through its association with the north. The reforms of King Wu Ling and of his successors, of which we spoke in Chapter IV, were the cause of several adoptions, military equipment as well as belt-clasps. The use of such clasps has not always been known. Pelliot in contradiction to other theories believes that they were placed horizontally to fasten the middle of the belt (74). There is convincing proof of this explanation supplied by a bronze sculpture in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (Pl. XVIII no. 3). This statue may be dated Han at the latest. Ferguson has published it as Ch'in, which may be the case (75). The figure wears a clasp in such a way that the shovel-shaped larger end is at the right. A projection issuing from this large end enters the leather belt. The hook distinctly fits a loop at the left. Excavations in Korea have supplied examples of Chinese origin, but only approximately dated. However, neither their discovery nor their ornamentation can permit the dating of any of these objects earlier than the second half of the III century B.C.

In contrast to its rather infrequent use in the Steppes the belt-clasp is very common in China and in countries influenced by the Celestial Empire. A collection of types would fill a considerable volume, but up to now it has only been attempted in a modest way (76). The Chinese borrowed the use and the original form from the north, but they usually made of it something absolutely personal. At first they used all materials suitable to the purpose, jade, bone, gold, silver, bronze and iron, some inlayed, and others of combined materials. The actual implement becomes at times a ceremonial article of exaggerated size. As well as the practical purpose of such pieces there arises another use, that of the amulet or funerary object, as Pelliot has already mentioned (77). Etruscan art, an oriental phenomenon on European soil, was also familiar with immense fibulae never meant to be worn (78). In the hereafter they probably stood for an idea of validity. The Chinese first wore these clasps themselves, then later on made them for exportation. Barbarians, always eager to exchange and receive gifts, prized them especially. It is said of clasps decorated with good luck animals : " The western Hu like to wear them " (79). Perhaps foreign demands stimulated the invention of varied ornamental motives.

In spite of all the variety of shapes and decorations for clasps, the original form of a hook, bar, and larger end, always remains. If we compare this form with that of Minussinsk (Pl. XVIII nos. 1 & 2) we notice, as we have done

already in other circumstances, that China seems to have been influenced not from relatively near Siberia, but rather from the extreme west. Once more we must bear in mind the possibility of trade between the extreme points of the circle of the Steppes, which permitted Scythian articles to reach the Far East.

We have only one specimen here of a clasp bearing a purely Chinese decoration. We shall therefore not have to deal here with geometric designs often formed by inlay, nor with fantastic Chinese animals (dragon, hydra), even when they are connected with the clasps in the same way as are the stags from Alexandropol. In fact we find the wider end shaped like a horse or tiger with the bar issuing from the chest in examples from the famous excavations in northern Korea that can be dated with certainty as being of the first half of the Han period (80). At that time the inhabitants of this region were Tungus, whose productions were naturally more similar to those of the Steppes than to those of China. The rough way in which the bar and animal-body are connected would certainly be awkward work for Chinese artists. It is characteristic of the latter that they had already tried, probably in the Han dynasty, to overcome this harshness in the composition. On Plate XVIII no. 4 the legs of a bear have been arranged around the bar, and the hydra-head is so far away that it has become an independant motive and is not inconsistent with the wider part. Han art has often invented such balanced solutions. At the same time, however, Scythian combinations are not lacking, and therefore many of the animals represented by the Chinese, as well as those designed by Steppe people, seem to be joined to the bar without any organic connection.

The tiger of Plate XVIII no. 5 is one of the earliest examples, that is, it is of the Han period. The thick-set body formed by curved lines corresponds very well with Han tendencies, while at the same time we find older motives in the claws, the heart-shaped ear, and in the scale-like ribbon ornamentation of the body. A clasp, often reproduced (81), follows the transition to a rather naturalistic reproduction of the animal and with non-Chinese elements such as an emphasis on the shoulders and a regular drawing that has the appearance of being incised. This technique comes from the ingraved bones of the Altai (82) and is also a characteristic feature of the Steppes. The fact that we find bevelling in the Chinese technique of bronze casting, that is to say a usual technique for other materials, has been explained by Glück as a northern influence (83).

The tiger in the round (Pl. XVIII no. 6) is not an ordinary form of belt-clasp. It could never have been used for practical purposes since even on the predominant side there seems to be no means of joining it with the part to be hooked. It has however its place here, because of the non-Chinese method of connecting the two parts of the object. The hook is at the same time the tiger's tail. A bird-head is at the end of the hook which, however, does not necessarily lead us to state definitely that like the Steppe motive it forms the

tip of the tail. A bird-head is often found in this position, but it is seldom that of the eagle as Alfoldi believes (84), but rather that of the goose as can be readily seen on the T'ang piece from the Altai (73) of which we have already spoken. The tiger's body is here decorated with circles and spirals which may be either of a Chinese or Steppe origin and which in our classification is proof of a relatively early date, at least of the Han period. Among other types of this period we often find an animal combat placed on the wider end (85) either framed by a border or unframed.

In order to make some ordered arrangement of these innumerable motives, we shall at first deal only with the wild animal designs. We then pass to a period after Han. Plate XVIII no. 7 could be artistically of the same early date, but the meaning behind the motive makes this impossible. Around the neck of a naturalistic tiger there is a collar to which the bar is attached by means of a three-fingered hand. The latter motive has been studied by Hentze in different regions of prehistory and he connects it with the descending phases of the moon (86). Tiger, collar and hand remind us of very definite Chinese myths. An animal with the same attributes, reproduced on a Han brick, is explained by Hentze as the demon of darkness whom the spirits pull away from the solar tree by means of a rope attached to its collar (87). The original meaning seems lost here as the motives are quite disconnected. Evidently they were borrowed mechanically from ancient objects. The fact that the Chinese added a Chinese decoration to a Eurasiatic utilization gives us a hybrid art, a remark that is true of the majority of northern frontier objects. If the smooth surface and weak modeling of the tiger speaks for a date about the middle of the I millennium, a repliqua where the fur is drawn in regular design (Pl. XVIII no. 8) must be even later, perhaps of the T'ang dynasty, since the modeling is even more indistinct. The hydra-head as well, has nearly disappeared, a sign of the tendency of the development to transform the majority of motives in the course of time.

This tendency consists of a constant breaking away from naturalism. In Plate XIX no. 1 the animal has not lost all true proportions. The stylised outline has kept the characteristic curve, but the claws are simplified and the head enlarged. Instead of a natural rendering of the fur we find an ornamental incised design which again comes from the northern technique of bevelling and which covers the whole surface without organic arrangement. The joints are emphasised with the spirals that are so favoured by Scythian art. The collar can scarcely be seen, the hand and hydra-head have disappeared. This simplification and weakening in style seems to be of a period about 1000. The technique of incision, adopted again for casting, finally so breaks up the surface that the tiger nearly becomes unrecognisable. We find this animal (Plate XIX no. 2) in a rectangular frame that as a whole has the appearance of openwork. The frame allows for a development of the claws and of the joining of the long thin tongue to the

tail. In several places we notice traces of metal that should have been removed after the casting, a carelessness of workmanship that would never be found in the east and which leads one to infer that this article was made exclusively for burial purposes. Although the flatness of the surface gives but little movement to the following piece there still remains an impression of excessive agitation. In Plate XIX no. 4 the curved line of the belly is broken by a loop, and as with the preceding clasps this example is approximately of the year 1000. While in the last four pieces the surfaces have never been free of ornament, the lines have nevertheless had some regular order. But on Plate XIX no. 3 the surface is covered with confused and intersecting lines that are meaningless. The barbarian transformation of this clasp places it in the final phase, the beginning of the II millennium. It may not be superfluous to mention here, that occasionally objects like those described above, may have lost both bar and hook and therefore give the deceptive appearance of being plaques.

The disintegration that we have just noticed in the tiger-form is also true of the fabulous animal that is probably derived from the Han hydra (Plate XIX no. 6), but that has kept little of the original form. The bar starts from the hind-quarters of the animal. There are no legs and the surface is articulated only by ridges, a barbarian method. This reminds us of the tigers decorated more or less in the same way (Plate XIX nos. 1-4), and which agree as well from the point of view of date. The animal of Plate XIX no. 5 has pre-Han elements in the geometric treatment of the jaws and claws, while the middle ridge that takes the place of decoration is borrowed from late ornaments. This piece, therefore, can not probably be of a period before the end of the I millennium.

Game-animals, always more or less naturalistic, are also found on belt-clasps. The roe of Plate XIX no. 7 is connected with the bar in the same way as the tiger, and the body has been simplified to the utmost. Grooves in comma-shape on hooves, ear, joints and in the middle of the body are Sarmatian elements. The small hollows of eye and nostril are most probably derived from Minussinsk. These artistic points are proof of a production of about the middle of the I millennium. The unusual feature of this example is that the customary protuberant button on the back is here replaced by a loop formed by the tail. Sometimes this simple animal-form calls for a later date. The hare of Plate XIX no. 8, for instance, lacks articulation and plastic clearness. The boar (Pl. XIX no. 9) is not shown at rest, but running full speed. These pieces might be of Chinese inspiration if the non-organic arrangement of animal and bar did not evince barbarian workmanship which, however, might be possible even in the T'ang dynasty.

The period around 1000 is represented once more by two examples where geometric elements are used with a natural outline. The yak of Plate XIX no. 10 is certainly well observed. On the middle of the body and on the hind-quarters

we find beaded spiral ribbons. The legs of the horse of Plate XIX no. 11 are drawn together in the typical Steppe fashion of the period after the Scythian epoch. On the fore-leg is a spiral, while supplementary lines follow the outline.

A simplification frequent in China as well as in the circle of the Steppes is the rendering of but one part of the animal, usually the head. We find an example of Plate XX no. 1 where a fox-head ends the bar. The stylised drawing carries with it some indistinct reminder of nature, and at the same time an ancient Chinese decoration. A date between the III and IV centuries coincides with these facts. Once more the button is missing that should protrude from the back, although it is still possible to fasten the wider end by means of the loop hanging under the head.

A combining of very different elements is distinctly brought out on the piece ending in double fox-heads (Plate XX no. 2). The loop of the former clasp is here replaced by a bar that hangs from the two muzzles, and which serves for the same purpose. But at the same time the button is in its usual place at the back. This example so clearly shows a Chinese influence that it may be of the Han period. These Chinese features are demonstrated especially by the heart-shaped ears, the beaded lines on the convex surface, and by the hollows of the ringed eyes. If we compare Plate XX no. 1 with this last example, the former piece must be considered a later production and its stylistic successor, the ornamentation smoother and better combined, while the ridges that surround the eyes are nearer the Minussinsk perforations than the modeled rings of China.

The human figure is also depicted on clasps. In our region we find it nude or dressed in a short jacket and small cap (Plate XX nos. 3 & 4), but always with only sketched details as far as outline and articulation are concerned, that is to say, it is a purely barbaric interpretation. What still remains Chinese is the organic way in which the bar and the hook are combined with the man. The figure seems to be carrying a heavy bar. So rudimentary a rendering does not seem possible before the end of the I millennium. We know of a variation of this type where the barbarian is on horseback and is connected in the same way with the bar (88).

A group of men is plainly derived from a T'ang model (Pl. XX no. 5). The wide end is formed of an orchestra of three people. Its horizontal arrangement once more very clearly shows the direction in which the object was meant to be placed. The careless casting and the condition of the surface, questions of which we spoke in Chapter V, lead me to believe that this must be a Chinese frontier production. Were there not similar groups in sculpture this design could not be explained. The man in profile on the right is playing a flute as we have seen in the caves of northern China (89). What the man in the centre is doing is not clear. T'ang mirrors have made us familiar with the stringed instrument that forms the foreground of the orchestra and which is played by

the man on the left (90). We consider the end of the I millennium as the probable date of this piece.

The variations described above are far from giving any idea of all the possible forms of belt-clasps before and after the I millennium. So little attention has been payed to this group of objects, that we must not forget that besides the numerous types illustrated here, there will be many other new motives when the rising interest in this subject brings us additional documents.

b) Hanging hooks.

We have already remarked that the hook can serve for purposes other than belt fastenings. This seems very probable when the decoration can only be understood if the object is in a vertical position. Siren believes that short and heavy hooks hung from the belt and held other small articles (91). Besides this suggestion there is again the possibility of their having served as amulets and as burial objects.

Usually the animal-head on the vertical hook plays but a minor role, the large buckle determines the position of this type of clasp and forms the main decoration. On the small hook of Plate XX no. 6 is a head, full-face, derived from the Chinese dragon. The buckle, divided into four framed sections decorated with dotted lines, has abandoned the animal ornamentation. The protuberance at the back is lacking. The granular motive on the wide end makes a date near the middle of the I millennium seem probable.

Plate XX no. 7 shows us a kneeling camel with a bar between the two humps. This clasp cannot have been worn in a horizontal position. The possibility of this object's having served for any practical purpose is disproved by the backward direction of the hook and by the under side which is smooth and without protuberances. The Minussinsk influence is felt in the form of the eye, although the unarticulated surface points towards the end of the I millennium.

We are nearer China in Plate XX no. 8. This piece could have been put to practical use, since it has a normally placed hook and two protuberances at the back. The composition, only intelligible in a vertical position, repeats three times a horned fantastic head, once on the end of the hook, once at the beginning of the bar, and finally at the edge of the wider end where the coiled, scaled body of the animal forms the shield. This piece as a whole is near enough to Han art to be given a date around 500.

The clasp with a loop to which a chain could have been affixed (Pl. XX no. 9) should be placed later, that is about the end of the I millennium. The same arrangement is found on a hook belonging to the Stockholm Museum, joined to a similar intermediary piece (92). Here, the centre is formed by a ram seen from the front the horns of which are at the beginning of the bar. At either side are tigers in profile with curled upper lips, and collars and fur drawn with dotted lines, all elements inherited from China. The joints and eyes of the three animals, as

well as the cheeks and paws of the tigers, are rendered by ringed perforations, a reminder of Minussinsk.

Openwork and geometric motives form part of the last phase of artistic production. In the two examples from the Loo collection, the stylised transformation already prevents any clear understanding of the ornamentation (Plate XX nos. 10 & 11). Both have some means of fastening them at the back. On Plate XX no. 10 there is a horizontally placed tiger at the end of the hook. At the beginning of the bar is a small shield flanked by circles and beaded ribbons, and bearing roughly drawn animal-heads, perhaps those of horses. This design is found, identical as far as technique and artistic conception is concerned, on Christian seals that, thanks to Pelliot, can be dated between the XII and XIII centuries (93). The same date may therefore be given to Plate XX nos. 10 & 11. The other designs on the buckle section of the first piece are only distinguishable in a horizontal position. On each side, with their backs toward the centre, are two horses, one above the other. The hook Plate XX no. 11 bears two rudimentary animals surrounding a Maltese cross. The openwork buckle is decorated in two rows, each with three wild asses, heads turned back.

c) Hooks of uncertain use.

The small bronzes placed under this heading were probably never attached to the belt. They may have been awls or bodkins used to undo knots and serve many other useful purposes. In any case Tallgren groups similar objects from the centre of the valley of the Volga with belt fasteners (94). Since small Scythian objects have only been summarily published, we cannot know if this type was familiar to the first metal artisans of the western Steppes. They were part of the Ananino civilization (Pl. XX no. 12), at the latest of 200 B.C. (95), the region near the centre of the Volga that borrowed nearly all of its forms from the Scythians. The fragment (Pl. XX no. 13) is certainly a copy of the Ananino piece reproduced here and also has a fantastic animal at the tip of the hook. It differs from its prototype by a line-drawn rather than a plastic rendering. It may have been created about 1000. A form that seems more likely to have been put to the use suggested above appears on Plate XX no. 14 because of the curve of the bar, and the end in the shape of a fantastic animal-head that has a perforation under the jaws by which it may have been affixed. There seems to be no difference in period, to my mind, between this and the former example.

NOTES OF CHAPTER VI

(1) Borovka, 1), pl. 24-28.
(2) Rostovtzeff, 1), p. 99.
(3) Chavannes, 1), p. 85.
(4) Chavannes, 1), p. 220.

(5) Rostovtzeff, 1), p. 56.
(6) Heikel, pl. XXII, 2.
(7) Borovka, 1), pl. 25 and 26.
(8) Borovka, 1), pl. 27.
(9) Brehm, 2), p. 226.
(10) Radloff, 2), vol. II, p. 42.
(11) Karlgren, p. 50, pl. VI, 2-3.
(12) Rostovtzeff, 3), p. 99.
(13) Rostovtzeff, 5), p. 339.
(14) Tallgren, 3), fig. 44, 2 and 86.
(15) Godard, pl. XI-XII.
(16) Lappo-Danilevskij, pl. VII, 7.
(17) Heikel, pl. XXII, 2 and p. 75.
(18) Siren, vol. II, pl. 27, D-E.; Rostovtzeff, 4), pl. V, 19-20.
(19) Rostovtzeff, 1), p. 88.
(20) Soobtschenija.
(21) Zakharov, fig. 12 and 15.
(22) Borovka, 1), pl. 1.
(23) Borovka, 1), pl. 43, B, C, E.
(24) Borovka, 1), pl. 4, A, C.
(25) Danylewitch, fig. 3.
(26) Borovka, 1), pl. 8, A, C.
(27) Andersson, 5), p. 259.
(28) Martin, pl. 29, 2.
(29) Otschet, 1896, p. 117.
(30) Uvarov, 1), pl. CXXXIV.
(31) Borovka, 1), pl. 9.
(32) Soobtschenija, p. 28.
(33) Borovka, 1), pl. 50 and 53 A.
(34) Borovka, 1), pl. 17, C-E.
(35) Borovka, 1), pl. 8.
(36) Brehm, 1), vol. I, p. 327.
(37) Brehm, 1), vol. I, p. 299.
(38) Borovka, 1), pl. 24-25.
(39) Spitzyn, 4), p. 165, fig. 28.
(40) Schmidt, p. 40.
(41) Rostovtzeff, 1), pl. XI, 1.
(42) Rostovtzeff, 1), pl. VIII, 1.
(43) Martin, pl. 29, 7.
(44) Rostovtzeff, 1), pl. III, 1.
(45) Borovka, 1), pl. XV, A.
(46) Rostovtzeff, 5), p. 353.
(47) Schmidt, p. 46.
(48) Salmony, 9), fig. 17.
(49) Spitzyn, 4), p. 163, fig. 15.
(50) Salmony, 9), fig. 6.
(51) Andersson, 5), pl. XIX, 1-2.
(52) Borovka, 1), pl. 12.

(53) Tallgren, 6), p. 13.
(54) Spitzyn, 5), fig. 320.
(55) Spitzyn, 5), fig. 324.
(56) Khanenko, pl. XXVII, 441.
(57) D'Ardenne, pl. 17, a.
(58) Martin, pl. 29, 42.
(59) Martin, pl. 30, 32, and pl. 31, 69.
(60) Takacs, 1) pl. 4, 2 a-c and 2, fig. 42 b and fig. 22.
(61) Otschet, 1890, p. 93, fig. 36.
(62) Aspelin, 1), p. 151. fig. 640.
(63) Bobrinskoj, p. 71, fig. 11.
(64) Karlgren, p. 44.
(65) Spitzyn, 3), p. 10, fig. 71.
(66) Schmidt, pl. 3, 1-4, pl. 4, 9-11.
(67) Nioradse, 2), p. 95, fig. 17.
(68) Rostovtzeff, 1), p. 113.
(69) Rostovtzeff, 3), p. 41; Rostovtzeff, 4), p. 25.
(70) Tallgren, 3), fig. 113-114.
(71) Tallgren, 3), fig. 114, 9.
(72) Tallgren, 4), p. 23, fig. 29-31.
(73) Rudenko, fig. 12,15.
(74) Pelliot, 2), p. 139.
(75) Ferguson, p. 163.
(76) Siren, vol. I, and II.
(77) Pelliot, 3), p. 20.
(78) Matz, p. 212.
(79) Pelliot, 2), p. 143.
(80) Fujita, Text, pl. VII, 1, pl. 10.
(81) Rostovtzeff, 4), pl. V, 23; Siren, vol. II, pl. 18, A. Pelliot, 3), p. 11.
(82) Uvarov, 1), vol. I-II, Nr. 81.
(83) Glück, p. 28.
(84) Alföldi, 2), p. 137, ff.
(85) Siren, vol. II, pl. 18 F.; Alföldi, 2), fig. 1, 2; Alföldi, 1), fig. 15.
(86) Hentze, 2), p. 108.
(87) Hentze, 2), pl. VII, p. 163.
(88) Siren, vol. II, pl. 13, D, E.
(89) Kümmel, pl. 69.
(90) Hamada, vol. II, pl. 91.
(91) Siren, vol. I, p. 73.
(92) Andersson, 5), pl. XIV, 1.
(93) Pelliot, 4).
(94) Tallgren, 1), vol. II, p. 9, fig. 2, and p. 13.
(95) Tallgren, 3), p. 4.

CHAPTER VII

OBJECTS DERIVED FROM THE SARMATIANS

Once again it is Rostovtzeff who furnishes us with the most accurate information concerning the successors of the Scythians in the vicinity of the Black Sea, the Sarmatians (1). We know of them in the Kuban as far back as the IV and III centuries B.C., but we do not find much of their work before 200. They ruled over the western Steppes for more than four hundred years, until they were overthrown by Celtic and Germanic invaders. The date of many Sarmatian monuments is uncertain, as is also the provenance of the most important examples. Of the gold objects which thanks to Peter the Great are now in the Hermitage, we only know that they came from Siberia. However Sarmatian influence was felt far into Asia, and its effect on Chinese northern frontier art may be explained in a very natural way.

1) Plaques as belt fasteners.

Among other inventions, the Sarmatians discovered a new way of fastening the belt, consisting of two metal plaques cast in pairs to be placed at either end of a leather strap (2). This object, when reproduced at the Chinese frontier, thus forms part of the inheritance from the second ethnical group that produced art in the western Steppes. As for the ornamentation, it is derived as much from other influences as from the Sarmatians. Before dealing with the motives in detail, we must first make certain general remarks that are applicable to all belt-plaques.

The two metal plaques meet at the middle of the belt, so that the hook of one enters the loop or opening (often in the from of a half circle) of the other. The principal shapes are those of a rectangle or of a B lying on its back with the outer circle higher than the inner. Specimens found in the western Steppes are the oldest examples of the type. Among the better known pieces are the silver plaques from Maikop (3) (Hermitage), and the silver-gilt plaque from Bulgaria, now in the British Museum (4). There are gold objects that come from farther east, among them those that belonged to Peter the Great. The constant appearance of this object is verified by documents all over Asia, but its use is often uncertain, above all in our region, the eastern Steppes. The hook that

served as fastener is often missing, and the loop is frequently replaced by a perforation that forms part of the general composition. On the other hand loops are sometimes found at the back (always mentioned in the notes on the Plates). In the latter case these plaques may have served to decorate the equipment of the warrior and his horse, and were not meant as fasteners. These objects should then have been added to those grouped under Chapter VI no. 2. Pelliot has already pointed out the fact that some plaques have an outward-turned hook, that is to say, turned in the opposite direction to its normal position (5), and that sometimes it is reduced to a mere stump. He sees no explanation for this strange phenomenon. I believe that many belt-plaques must be considered as burial objects and were never meant to serve any other purpose.

a) Mythological scenes.

There is a bold plastic character in the plaques from western Eurasia. All the details rise from the background in strongly modeled relief. The gold Siberian plaques have the same artistic character, although the majority are openwork. The same is applicable to Chinese frontier plaques, especially when the human figure plays the dominating role (Pl. XXI nos. 1-4). Rostovtzeff has made considerable study of this type (6), and we have little to add to his very complete explanation. Let us first deal briefly with Plate XXI no. 1. Two men in the characteristic costume of the Sarmatians are wrestling, their horses behind them. A bird soars overhead. They stand between trees upon a stylised ground. Plate XXI no. 2 agrees in all the essential details with the preceding piece, although the bird is less clear, while in exchange we are able to see more distinctly the harness of one of the horses. There is no background in this second case, which proves that the same scene could be reproduced in an openwork as well as in an unperforated style. I feel that I cannot entirely agree with Rostovtzeff in the dating of such objects. The horses are still modeled but not with the accuracy of the early Sarmatian animals. What is also found in countries influenced by Sarmatian art is the use of the grooved and pointed oval in the shape of a leaf, originally intended to be inlayed with color. But it is above all in the figures of the wrestling men that we find a stylization way beyond any western or Siberian parallels, and which justifies a date between 200 and 500 A.D. Except for the heads, arms and torsos, little modeling is apparent. There are only raised outlines around a uniformally flat plane. The linear tendency is beginning to show itself, we shall find it further developed in other pieces.

As for the two plaques, authoritively described by Rostovtzeff as scenes from the life of the Hero Hunter (Plate XXI nos. 3 & 4), I believe that the Han date which up to now has been given to them must also be corrected. We find on them the Persecutor of Demons standing before his chariot laden with trophies (Plate XXI no. 3). Rostovtzeff has pointed out that the dog placed at the thin edge is not in a natural position, but set vertically, head down, as otherwise there was no

room for him. The upraised hand of the hero, disproportionately large as is the bird sitting on the hindquarters of the horse, gives the impression of work done by an inexperienced artist. It is certain that the barbarian creator of this scene did not attempt a composition, but merely put together haphazardly all the motives necessary for an understanding of the subject. An artist of the Han period would most certainly have grouped his figures with more care, and would have treated the surface in a plastic way. In the subjugation of the demon (Plate XXI no. 4) the confusion is emphasised by poor proportions. The animal above the cart completely overshadows both it and the draught animals, and is incongruous to the whole. In a letter published by Rostovtzeff in the review " Artibus Asiae ", G. Roerich speaks of Turkish and Mongol texts that deal with sacred wrestling. It is among the myths of these tribes that we must search for the subject matter of these two plaques which deal with scenes in the life of the Conqueror of the Demons. These remarks force us to place the first example after the middle of the I millennium, and the second nearer the end. We have already discovered that at the Chinese frontier there is a period between 500 and 1000 A.D. with which to date Turkish and Mongol art when it is independent of other regions from the point of view of motive and artistic form. The relatively late date which we have given to the above pieces corresponds to this fact.

b) Animal-combats.

The principal motive for belt plaques in the Steppes, for western Sarmatia as well as for the gold Siberian pieces, is the animal-combat. It is also very often found at the Chinese frontier, particularly on pieces where the strong relief leaves no doubt of their being of the Han period (7). The artistic excellence of such objects has attracted the interest of scholars and collectors, and they have therefore been well published. But along the road through the epochs, the motive has suffered so many strange and multiple transformations, it has undergone so many varied influences, that it is well worth our while to study its development in detail.

On Siberian gold plaques we find an eagle fighting a wild animal (8). The composition is filled in with small animals and bird-heads. The latter motives are missing on a repliqua from the Chinese frontier (Plate XXII no. 1). Here the motive appears simplified, the surface flattened and softened. The hollows, which in the Steppe circle often served to hold inlay, are now merely decorative ornaments. This transformation had perhaps already taken place in the country that saw the birth of Sarmatian art, and certainly already in the Minussinsk region. In spite of a stylised rendering of claws and plumage, the combat between the eagle and the tiger is very impressive, even in north China examples. It is " pathetic ", as Rostovtzeff would say. Objects in bronze may follow objects in gold with but little lapse of time, that is to say they are of between the III and IV centuries.

The combat between a tiger and a stag, face to face (Plate XXII no. 2), in a rectangular frame, has no western parallel. The scene is surrounded with earth and foliage. The tiger is seizing the throat of the stag, the head of which is turned towards the front, and the antlers directly connected with the leaves. Siberian animal-combats have a plastic clarity that is lacking in the modeling here. The perforations are certainly related to those of Minussinsk, but the affinity of this piece to that region is only apparent in the stylization, since there are no representations of animal-combats in the Jenissei valley. It is only at the Chinese frontier that we find motives from gold objects combined with Minussinsk characteristics, and the subject still further transformed by the limited style of our region. At the same time all the foreign elements seem very much conventionalized. The date of this piece, of which several examples are known, should be at the earliest of about the middle of the I millennium A.D.

Among combinations peculiar to our region, we must mention the combat between a fabulous being resembling a dragon, and two tigers (Plate XXII no. 3). Two wild animals charging their prey are found on gold plaques as well as on pieces from the north of China. The only motive that connects this piece with the preceding one, so full of Minussinsk reminders, is the border in leaf design. Although these two examples must be of the same period, they differ from each other in every way. We have already noticed when dealing with hook-clasps (Plate XIX nos. 2-4) the very definite tendency to render the surface uneven and to give it animation by doubling the lines. At the same time great use is made of the distinctive Sarmatian decoration, the comma-shaped motive. Three lines follow the outline of the dragon, curved like a serpent, while the stripes on the bodies of the tigers agree somewhat with nature. The animal that is biting the hind part of the tiger seems to be twisted so that the hind legs are turned in the opposite direction to the body and head.

Plate XXII no. 4 is an excellent work of art, and demonstrates how many varied artistic tendencies may be combined in one object. In a frame formed of two plaited ropes two contorted horses are galoping with legs bent back nearly up to their thighs. They are attacked from below by two tigers that bite their bellies. Their S-shaped tails lie across the bodies to join in the centre. There are braided spirals on all the joints. Although all these peculiarities have a decidedly Sarmatian character, there is nothing barbarian about the group. The superimposed arrangement, without background, is proof of an artistic liberty only possible in an advanced civilization. The lines are well arranged and controlled in every detail, but do not agree with the style of the Han period, but rather with that of the T'ang. Therefore all technical details in this piece are Chinese. The subject comes from the circle of the Steppes, but the composition, and the doubling of the group in one frame, may only be explained as local peculiarities.

The Loo collection also contains examples of the last phase where we find

a return to primitiveness (Plate XXII no. 5). An undefinable wild animal fights a tiger, jumps on him with one paw under the belly, the other gripping a fore-leg. The tiger is characterised by line-drawn fur. The dots on the cork-screw tail show that nature is being sacrificed to a desire for ornamentation. Of all the treasure of Sarmatian forms, leaf drawn frame, emphasised joints, contorted bodies, nothing is left. A reminder of Minussinsk art, however, is felt in the round perforations. It was at about the beginning or towards the middle of the II millennium that the Mongols worked in such a primitive way, while still making use of their ancient subjects.

A distinct variation of the type is furnished by the rectangular plaque with an unperforated flat background (Plate XXIII no. 1). Here we see a ram over-powered by some wild animal that is biting its victim behind the shoulder. The animals are contorted in the Sarmatian manner as each pair of legs may be seen directly behind the head of the other animal. The Maikop plaque has already made the plain background and the twisted forms familar to us. Such a composition is possible at the Han period, but details in the drawing do not fit so early a date. The very natural ridges of the backward-turned horns are also to be found on the spirals at neck and joints. It is clear that the artist was more interested in his ornamentation than in the realism of his scene. The pathos so often mentioned in groups of this type has been sacrificed to a rhythm of lines. So exaggerated a transformation in the animal-combat scene can with difficulty be dated before the middle of the I millennium. The development in the transformation and obliteration of motives may be followed on unperforated plaques. The hole for the hook is the only perforation that remains. The subject may borrow the most varied elements from the rich repertory of the animal-combat scene. Plate XXIII no. 2 shows us two horses in profile with birdlike heads, their backs gripped in the jaws of wild animals of which we only see the heads turned full-face. The two animal-heads above the hole are inexplicable. A decoration of spiral stripes entirely obliterates the bodies of the solipeds. They begin at the hind legs and go to the necks, and are derived from the ridges on ram-horns. This transformation of the animal-combat into an interlacing of animal figures has no parallel in the circle of the Steppes. It appears at about the middle of the I millennium in the region of the Steppes that is in contact with China.

Besides the ram and the horse we also find the antilope in this group (Plate XXIII no. 3). Four antilope are so arranged that we only see the fore-quarters of one pair. The legs follow a horizontal line across the middle of the rectangle. In the part destroyed by the largerhole, the hind hooves have wild animal-claws. Only above the other pair of antilope, and close to the edge, do we find tiger-heads biting the necks of the solipeds. Their legs and paws are necessarily forshortened. Between their contorted bodies and the ringed hole

we find an outward-turned head, heraldically stylised, to which have been added antilope-horns to what is otherwise a ram's head. No part of any of the bodies is free of decoration. The artist has deliberately given up the representation of a scene, and has made it impossible by confusing details so that they form parts of different animals. When this tendency grows even more pronounced we have certainly passed into the T'ang period. Plate XXIII no. 4 shows us the acme of confused composition. Lines seem to move haphazardly in various directions and new decorations are formed seemingly by accident. In a plaited frame we find, aiming in a horizontal direction, two profiled heads of some uncertain type of soliped, that meet in about the middle of the plaque. The forelegs are at the centre and the same arrangement is repeated behind them. Four tigers move in the opposite direction, their heads and hind legs are arranged as in Plate XXIII no. 3. It is impossible to connect all the spiral and striped ribbons with animal-forms. Altogether the animal-combat has become a baroque motive which here certainly passes the T'ang period. It was later on adopted by the Steppe people who used this form of ornamentation in a new and personal way.

After 1000, at the close of barbarian art in the north of China, we come across unexpected animal combinations. The frog seen from above with the four legs touching the sides, is only otherwise found in the art of the Ural, that is to say in the Steppe circle, in a phase that comes already after the middle of the I millennium (9). At the Chinese frontier this type has the frame replaced by two giant lizard-forms that attack a frog (Plate XXIII no. 5). They are apparently a species of agama frequently found in the southern and eastern Steppes. The impression that we are looking down upon the scene is faithfully produced, and we cannot see their short legs. The spinal crest and the drawing of the skin seems well observed as is the head and shield-like nose. The forelegs of the frog are broken. This piece is shaped like many plaques and the drawing although primitive, is easily understood. It gives at the same time a natural and a stylised impression. Even in such late art it is easy to follow the different stages in artistic formation. As is shown by Plate XXIII no. 6, the artist has altered the dead frog and its aggressors into a decorative arrangement. Only two agamas bite their prey, the other two are placed at either side of the head. Had we not the preceding example from the Loo collection with which to help us find a zoological determination, we might consider the four encircling reptiles as snakes.

To the group of unframed animal-combat scenes, we must add another which might easily have served as an applique but not as a fastener (Plate XXIII no. 7). In this group we find two animals standing on a small bar. They might be of the same species if the attacking animal had not claws and the other hooves. We may presume that they are a tiger and a boar. The modeling suggests a date around 500.

c) Groups of different animals.

Many scenes that have been called " animal-combats " do not deserve that title and are not derived from the gold plaques. One piece of which several examples are known (Plate XXIV no. 1) does not show us an attacker and a defender, but an animal and its food. The tiger is about to devour a dead roe. The very openwork appearance of the plaque reminds us of the Jenissei valley where we find, as it happens, almost the identical subject (10). At Minussinsk there is usually nothing left of the prey but its head. The passionate movement of the gold plaques is unknown there, probably because the inhabitants of that region so favoured by nature, were rather shepherds than hunters, and therefore preferred their art to represent peaceful rather than dramatic events. The works of art created on the Jenissei at the beginning of our era cannot have been reproduced at the Chinese frontier before the middle of the millennium. Plate XXIV no. 2 shows us the developed scene of the animal-repast. It has degenerated. A lion with very short paws holds a roe in its jaws. The square loop destined to hold the hook is here in an unusual position, between the two animals. The representation of a lion is unexpected. In the eastern Steppes we only find this animal in the north of Lake Issik Kul, in the country of the Seven Rivers (Semiretschi) but these examples have not been published. The stylised drawing of the mane, and the uncertain proportions place this object in the last period, the most barbarian period of north China, which may have easily lasted far into the II millennium.

At this particular stage in the artistic intercrossing, there appears a strange intermediary scene between the animal-combat of the gold plaques and the animal-repast of Minussinsk. It has no parallel in the Steppe circle. The wild animal is made the principle figure, while frame and other details are discarded. Plate XXIV no. 3 shows us the earliest type. The wild animal seems to be derived from the tiger. The loop is inorganically placed between forehead and nose. The prey is unrecognisable. Incised ribbons that start from the joints and increase in width, decorate the body. The ornamental elements overshadow the organic and naturalistic elements, but there still remains some memory of anatomical construction. This first example of the motive should be placed about 500 A.D.

A change of but little importance is found on Plate XXIV no. 4. The striped ribbons have been replaced by dotted and spiral lines. Once more we are able to follow the development of stylistic degeneracy even in the smallest details. On Plate XXIV no. 5 the composition has become still more confused. Above the shoulder where usually a spiral is found there is a bird-head. The principal animal reminds us of the art of the Altai where the tiger becomes fantastic through curling the upper lip, placing a scroll in the ear, and forming a pad of the whiskers. This pad is shaped like a half leaf, drawn with barbs like those of a feather, especially in those carved wood pieces from the Katanda river (11), that is to

say, already of the Han period. Here the tiger is biting the hind leg of the soliped, and the tuft at the end of the tail can be seen above the lower jaw. The lines on mane and belly lead us to believe that the victim is a boar, although the head seems rather to be that of a ruminant. We see it in profile, crowned with the twisted horn of the ram, as well as with the lyre-shaped horns of the antilope which are turned full-face. Between these last two horns we find a paw, and there is another above. The dotted and spiral lines on the larger body are arbitrarily placed, but they do not cover the entire surface as in the two preceding pieces. According to our system of classification, this example is of the VI-VII centuries.

Towards the end of the T'ang period, this type assumes fantastic forms (Plate XXIV no. 6). There the animal resembles a wolf with too short paws, its victim a contorted antilope. As emphasis on the joints of the larger animal, the artist has used three carefully drawn vulture-heads. This group is surrounded by a double weaving of animal-forms of which those in front of the large head cannot be recognised, due perhaps to the destruction of some portions by age. Immediately over the back of the animal we find two interlaced serpents each ending in a full-face bear's head. A ribbon starts above the tail of the wolf and forms the upper part of the frame. It is composed of an ibex-head and a vulture-head. The corner is formed by the ibex repeated three times along the upper horizontal edge. In front of each horn is a bird-head, of the type called on Minussinsk daggers "Griffon-heads". This heterogeneous combination, and the baroque transformation of the motives, is beyond anything found in the Steppe circle.

Our region also adds a wealth of new themes to those of the Steppes in its use of the bird motive (Plate XXIV no. 7). This plaque is openwork, a technical process which when used in this way is reminiscent of Minussinsk. In a frame made up of small squares placed one after the other, there is a lower section like a rectangular band, perforated at either end, that would seem to have been intended for an inscription. Two birds of prey, characterised by beaks and claws, squat at either side of a fish that lies along the top of the band. A claw descends from the beak of each bird towards the back of the fish. The space between the two profiled bird-heads is filled by another, full-face. The drawing, especially that of plumage and scales, is all schematic, but enough of the Jenissei type for this piece to form part of the group that is of about 500 A.D.

At Minussinsk the B-shaped plaque may be exchanged for one formed like a horse-shoe. In the separate development at the Chinese frontier we find the same phenomenon of about the year 1000 (Plate XXV no. 1). The frame is composed of the old leaf motive, but the animal ornamentation is difficult to recognise. At the larger end is a horned dragon curled so that its tail touches its head. The body has only hind legs. Under this fabulous animal is a serpent.

Below the latter, in the narrow section, we find one more animal, but this time undefinable. It is impossible to date this piece, nor a related fragment from the Loo collection (Pl. XXV no. 2), before the beginning of the Sung period. This second piece has a frame of two dragon-heads that surround a ring under which is the full-faced head of a lynx. This well defined animal could not be recognised under this schematic form, were it not found in a similar composition, but with more naturalistic details, at Minussinsk (10).

d) Animals alone and in pairs.

The reproduction on belt-plaques of several animals of the same species, or of one animal alone, is somewhat scarce in the Sarmatian region. On the other hand such designs are numerous in the Jenissei valley. There are few uses and ornaments where the affinity between Minussinsk and north China is as apparent as on belt-plaques decorated with animals alone or in pairs. If we continue to follow our system of chronological grouping by which we place strongly modeled pieces at a relatively early date, Plate XXV no. 3 is then of about 500. Its contour is the same as that of Plate XXV nos. 1 & 2, and, as in those examples, the different bodies are difficult to distinguish. It is, however, easy to recognise two dragon-heads at the centre, seen from above, that are biting the interlaced legs of some other animals.

At Minussinsk there are numerous plaques that have the hook on the rounded end, as have all the examples on Plate XXV with which we have dealt so far. The opposite end is again straight with two corners. In the Jenissei, as in our region, the central motive is that of a buffalo-head (Plate XXV no. 4) surrounded by short legs. Under the head, at both sides, are the characteristic folds of flesh ornamented by perforations. Once more we turn to about 500. This type is also found in South Russia in the region of the Selenga river (12). Plate XXV no. 5 is one of many extraordinary inventions from the north of China. Two centre disks are garlanded with animal-heads in groups of two. They are a combination of bird-heads with ram-horns. Such an unnatural design certainly brings us into the beginning of the II millennium.

Because of its excellent modeling we place the plaque of Plate XXV no. 6 near the Han period (III-IV centuries A.D.). The edge, decorated with double lines frames two browsing horses. Only one peculiarity of Sarmatian art can be found here, the stylization of the hooves with the grooved comma-shape design. A repliqua of one half of this motive (Plate XXV no. 7) proves that naturalistically modeled forms may survive, although they may have lost their plastic clearness, their anatomical accuracy, and even their technical perfection. The very faulty casting of this piece brings us certainly past the year 1000.

The combined forms of two outward-turned ibex (Plate XXVI no. 1) must be of the same date as the pair of horses of Plate XXV no. 6, but such a composition is not found at Minussinsk. The smooth and backward-arched horns are of

considerably more than natural size. The plant growth, stylised like the hooves, may be seen in front of the necks and over the backs of the animals, and represents a forest. Grooved squares form the frame. Although this piece is but little perforated, the modeling stands out boldly. These two peculiarities are characteristic of a phase that owes much to an observation of nature.

Plate XXVI no. 2 is in strong contrast to such a phase. Here the ibex-heads are turned full-face, so that the horns are developed on each side. In the centre of the upper border we find a pair of unconnected horns that serve merely to fill space. The animals are surrounded by leaves and stand upon a wavy ground. The back is cut away as much as possible, typical of the Jenissei valley. The modeling has been replaced by linear drawing in ridges, while the bulk of the bodies is almost flat. Were there not a horizontal line across the middle, these bodies would show the same treatment as those on plaques dealing with mythological scenes (Plate XXI nos. 1 & 2). Here, however, the stylization and geometric forms show progress and warrant a date about the beginning of the second half of the I millennium.

Still another animal combination is found in the Jenissei as well as in the north of China, that of two yaks (13). Their heads are turned full-face, the folds of flesh are comma-shaped, repeated three times. The tuft at the end of each tail has the same motive. What differentiates this repliqua from its Siberian model is the emphasis here on linear decoration, which should therefore place it in the T'ang period. We give the same date to Plate XXVI no. 4, where we find a single horse that is a repetition of the pair of Plate XXII no.4. The garland over the contorted form of the animal has also been previously seen on Plate XXVI no. 6. It is composed of plaited ribbons with animal-heads. There is another similar ribbon that joins the hind leg to the frame. One type, only found at the northern frontier and at Minussinsk, and nearly identical in both regions, is that of Plate XXVII no. 1. It was certainly one of the most popular and most admired designs of the period. One must not look for this type under our heading in previous literature on the subject, since it has always been termed an " animal-combat " (14). But one has only to glance at the hooves, the shape of the heads, and at the comma-design of the shoulder joints to know that these are two animals of the same species, two horses. They are playing, one biting at the neck of the other which in turn bites the foreleg of its companion. In an earlier publication I called this group " Horses at play " (15). This explanation has been accepted by Andersson, who goes still farther and calls it " A combat between rutting stallions " (16). This type is of the usual shape framed in grooved squares, wavy ground below, and perforated leaves above. In variations of the same scene, the stylization of the forest usually forms part of the frame, thereby causing less openwork. In another case, one horse is kneeling and has the forelegs of the other in his jaws. Since the modeling of this piece is more accentuated than in

Plate XXVI no. 1, I think this may be of the end of the Han period or but shortly after.

We have already noticed on Plate XXIII nos. 1-4 that an unperforated background is usually a Chinese phenomenon. It also appears on plaques showing animals of the same species which are closely allied with the animal plaques just mentioned. On Plate XXVII no. 2 four animals are grouped in pairs. The curl of the upper lips is closely related to Altai forms of which we have already spoken. Their contorted bodies connect them with Sarmatian art, but the linear drawing is rather derived from the barbarians of the Chinese frontier. Typical of a non-organic composition is the fact that only one foreleg can be seen but both of the hindlegs. The border differs from the usual plaque frame, as here it is made up of spiral ribbons. This piece may also be of the T'ang period but very close to 1000.

We place a little later the two horses framed in a border composed of oblique stripes (Plate XXVII no. 3). The contorsion of the bodies and the linear decoration connect it with the preceding example. But the separate motives show once again a tendency to break up and combine with other motives to form new ornamentations. Thus, between the hindlegs, we find two roe-heads face to face, and on the other side an owl-head seen from the front but upside down. With Plate XXVII no. 4 we have once more gone beyond 1000. The two horses have become but a play of lines, but little connected with nature. Of the contorted hindlegs only scrolls above the backs remain. The section between the two animals is filled with two pairs of double spirals. This plaque typifies once more the weakening of form under the Mongols.

An exact duplicate of a pair of Minussinsk animals (17) is upon a very openwork plaque composed of two opposed browsing camels (Plate XXVIII no. 1). As with all plaques common to the two extremes of the Steppes it should be placed in the III-IV century A.D. The frame is made up of unusually short leaf decorations. Between the two animals are two intertwined trees. The hair on the humps is drawn with vertical stripes. In reality two-humped camels are not indigenous to the Jenissei valley. Their appearence in the art of this region must be an importation from the south as Czaplicka has already mentioned (18). The frame is simplified on the plaque decorated with camels with raised heads (Plate XXVIII no. 2). The leaves are connected neither with the border nor with the tree at the centre, they are below the muzzles and at the backs of the animals. So simplified a form would at Minussinsk already belong to the middle of the I millennium and in China should date, at the earliest, at the beginning of the T'ang period.

We find a pair of camels completely lacking in modeling (Plate XXVIII no. 3) created at a period around 1000. The motive of intertwined trees has become a double rope which continues the braid of the frame, rests on the backs of the

camels and passes through their mouths like bridles. This example very clearly shows that after a certain lapse of time ancient forms can become quite new and no longer hold their original meaning.

Plate XXVIII no. 4 gives an idea of the diversity of possible variations. This pair of ibex is far more broken up than any Minussinsk piece, although the element that causes this dissolution is formed of an ancient motive from this region, the circular perforation of which we spoke at length in Chapter VI. It takes possession of the tree at the centre and changes it into three wheels. It appears above the horns and below the bodies, in fact if takes hold of all possible spaces. Only the ibex themselves, well modeled moreover, are not so treated. Three stylistic tendencies meet here, the heraldic grouping and the circular perforations of Minussinsk, the modeling of an early period, and finally the tendency towards a schematic transformation which is an artistic characteristic peculiar to the barbarians of the northern Chinese frontier. A date near 1000 best corresponds to the coincidence of these three elements. When even the modeling disappears as in Plate XXVIII no. 5, we must be at an even later period and have entered the II millennium. Here the perforations have even broken up the forms of the standing animals, probably stags, the heads of which are backward-turned. Animals so geometrically simplified, three instead of a pair, and all turned in the same direction, are certainly an invention of our region. Among the latest yet most primitive plaques, is that of Plate XXVIII no. 6, composed in the same way as Plate XXVIII no. 4. The stags are nearly unrecognisable. The centre tree, a very ancient motive, has become a dotted line, and the circle above is less a symbol than a method by which the artist avoided small perforations and replaced them with a linear design. Such a weakening of original forms can only be possible at a late Mongol period. This object, so to speak, is of " no date ".

There are animals in plaque form of so small a volume as to be mere skeletons. A wild animal (Plate XXIX no. 1) may, in spite of this fact, be recognised as a wolf. The disappearance of the body surface, however, cannot be possible before the middle of the I millennium. There is still less volume in the ibex of Plate XXIX no. 2, where even a true drawing of the legs has been lost. The back, the legs joined together, and the jaws, have become grooved bars. We always find at the end of this art, that is to say at the beginning of the II millennium, the same tendency to forget nature by placing the emphasis on the ornament.

The figure astride a camel (Plate XXIX no. 3) is of a type already observed in the hooks of Plate XX nos. 3 & 4, and is of the same period, the beginning of the II millennium.

The small figure (Plate XXIX no. 4) is not sufficiently distinct for us to draw any conclusions; it must probably be of the end of the T'ang period. A heraldic

head of a lion (Plate XXIX no. 5) is a reminder of the fact that bands of hunters often reached Persia. As this piece is inspired by a Persian model and exceptionally reproduced at the northern frontier, the adoption of this foreign motive places it in the II millennium. By the same method of deduction Tallgren has classified a poorer casting of the same model and calls it " modern " (19).

e) Geometrically designed ornaments.

In an enumeration of decorations to be found on belt-plaques, the geometric design cannot be omitted. It is already discovered at Minussinsk and probably comes from a simplification of openwork plaques ornamented with serpents (20). There also appears in this region a double ladder type, originally with a bird-head (21), but in the Jenissei as well as in China, this animal form is sometimes omitted. Here (Plate XXIX no. 6) the only organic form is the leaf designed frame. The sections that joined the central bar to the frame are broken. Andersson considers that possibly leaves of this type may be animal rudiments, such as hooves or ears (22). This theory is refuted, however, by the consecutive order of Minussinsk pieces. This example from the north of China may be dated at the beginning of the second half of the I millennium. That this type developed with the Mongols into a complicated geometric decoration is proved by Plate XXIX no. 7. Except for the indistinct design of the frame, the leaf motive has lost its original meaning and has formed a rosette, no longer in any way connected with natural forms. In our search for a probable date we found unexpected aid from the extreme west of the Steppe circle. Fettich has published belt-plaques with the same design of the period of the "occupation of land " by the Hungarians, that is to say the IX century (23). This piece from the Chinese frontier may therefore be dated with great certainty in the IX-X century.

2) Buckles to end a chain.

The openwork objects collected under this heading are with reservations added to this chapter because of their general shape always furnished with either hook or loop. Their use is supported by examples published by Andersson (24). The objects have been proved at the Chinese frontier, but not yet among the Sarmatians. In our region this object is actually found connected with a chain, but at the same time its use as a belt-fastener still remains possible. The chain is always attached so that the forward bending hook hangs from the bottom. It is possible that there were two buckles made to fit each end of the chain. In fact there are isolated pieces that could have been used in such a way. Even when only the buckles have been preserved, as is the case for all the examples on Plate XXX, the decoration on these pieces proves that they were meant to hang vertically.

The oldest piece in this group (Plate XXX no. 1) is closely connected with Minussinsk art. There too we find a decoration grouped around a convex central

disk (Pl. III, line IV, 3, no. 98). The circular perforations at the eyes and nostrils and the slits at the ears on the two ass-heads, are typical of the art of the Jenissei. The bar between the two muzzles holds the hook. The date, as in all cases where the Minussinsk influence is very evident, is about 500 A.D.

For Plate XXX no. 2 we have reached a period at the end of the millennium as is clearly shown by a comparison with the hook of Plate XX no. 9, the ornamentation of which is identical. Even the loop on the tiger's back, made to hold the chain, is not missing. Above the ram, and connected with a loop, is a ring which, strangely enough, has a hook at the side. Joined to this ring by another loop, is the part with which we are chiefly concerned here, the buckle. As with the first example it is composed of the heads of two asses, one of which has an inexplicable form added to it. This time the hook is not under, but over the two heads. If we had not already the date of the lower section, discussed in Chapter VI no. 3, a comparison of the two pairs of ass-heads would suffice to reach a comparitively late date.

The general shape of such pieces is sometimes a circle, sometimes a square. In order to fill this form the artist invented about the year 1000, groups of animals which are not found so combined in other parts of the Steppes. Plate XXX no. 3 is principally composed of a bar and of a hook formed like a head, perhaps that of a roe. The two arcs of the buckle end just before the hook in two backward turned tiger-heads. A contemporary piece (Plate XXX no. 4) has added an upper loop to the circle and hook. The general form is that of a tiger treated like a coiled animal, a familiar Sarmatian motive and very similar to it, even in this elongated form. This breaking down of the motive is characteristic of a period between T'ang and the end of Sung, and agrees very well with the general tendency of the art peculiar to the Chinese frontier. In Plate XXX no. 5, the tiger has been doubled and between the two jaws, seen full-face, is the head of a hare, the ears of which serve to form a loop. Plate XXX no. 6 is once more square. The outline is composed of two transversal bars joined by two S-shaped tigers (cf. Plate XVI no. 7). An unusual feature is that the bird-head hook bends inward instead of outward. The combination of two tigers and a hare is transformed into an interlaced motive (Plate XXX no. 7) similar to Plate XVI no. 13. The victim is stretched full length between its enemies. A protuberance is broken. Plate XXX no. 8 is of the same type but further developed, for above the hare-head we can perceive another turned in the opposite direction. The hook has again been changed into the head of a fabulous animal. With this example we end the series of objects all very evidently of the same type and of the same period. The date of these pieces is already assured by the parallels to be found among the appliques.

The hook form of Plate XXX no. 9 connects it with the last examples. It differs from them, however, by its nearly completely circular form, which

nevertheless lacks both drawing and accents. The principal motive is that of a serpent coiled into an irregular S-shape. Besides the usual loop it has also the belt-plaque hook. Between the body and the end of the tail is a stylised hedgehog. This vigourous yet barbarous piece forms part of the end of our art and is of the beginning of the II millennium.

Concerning Plate XXX no. 10 the use and the way in which the object was placed are uncertain. Our reason for placing this piece under the above heading is that the loop can only be understood in a vertical position. It is formed of the forequarters of a fabulous being. Two animal-heads (perhaps of lynx) are in a horizontal position. They have rings on either side of them followed by squares decorated with crosses. On the whole this example suggests a period at the beginning of the II millennium.

As we have seen, the buckle used to end a chain has only in one case an ornamental connection with Siberia (Plate XXX no. 1); all the other examples serve to enrich the repertory of forms with local inventions.

NOTES OF CHAPTER VII

(1) Rostovtzeff, 5), p. 604.
(2) Rostovtzeff, 3), p. 42; Rostovtzeff, 4), p. 34.
(3) Rostovtzeff, 1), pl. XXV, 1.
(4) Dalton, fig. 35.
(5) Pelliot, 3), p. 20.
(6) Rostovtzeff, 3), p. XXIX, 3; Rostovtzeff, 4), fig. 55, 56; Rostovtzeff, 2), p. 12; Rostovtzeff, 6).
(7) Borovka, 1), pl. 70, a. o.
(8) Borovka, 1), pl. 51.
(9) Aspelin, 1), fig. 568, p. 136.
(10) Salmony, 9).
(11) Borovka, 2), pl. X, 23.
(12) Spitzyn, 3).
(13) Borovka, 1), pl. 35, a.
(14) Borovka, 1), pl. 53 b.
(15) Salmony, 3), fig. 13-14.
(16) Andersson, 5), pl. XXX.
(17) Martin, pl. 29, 15.
(18) Czaplicka, p. 106.
(19) Tallgren, 2), p. 84, pl. X, 21.
(20) Martin, pl. 30, 19 and 12.
(21) Martin, pl. 30, 18.
(22) Andersson, 5), p. 293.
(23) Fettich, pl. 44, 1-2 and p. 326.
(24) Andersson, 5), pl. XIV, 1-2.

CHAPTER VIII

OBJECTS FROM THE EAST OF RUSSIA

What Chinese texts tell us of the western sections of the Eurasiatic Steppes cannot be connected with any definite geographic region. But quite the reverse is true of certain objects from the northern Chinese frontier. There, we can certainly find examples that may be traced back to special civilizations like those which developed during the course of the I millennium on the upper Volga and around its affluents, the Oka and the Kama, as well as on the slopes of the Ural. Up to now, the influence of these regions has only been recognised in the west and in the north, in Finno-Germanic art especially, but never in the east.

a) Chains and chain-holders.

The use of metal ribbons composed of flexible and alined sections is so ancient and so general, that it is impossible to chose any one region of the Steppes as the place of its invention. In braided ribbon form, it was known to the Sarmatians (1), who employed it in various ways. Let us only refer to the well known Novocherkassk treasure, where we find it holding small bottles, receptacles, and handles for an unknown purpose (2).

As far as we know today, the northern Chinese frontier chains were made up of alternate links, that is to say, of rings separated by rectangular pieces (Plate XXXI no. 1). Only the latter bear a small geometric design. The distinctive feature of our region is the addition of a chain-holder in plaque form which seems intended for the beginning rather than for the end of the chain. Pelliot has already published a double chain with two plaques (3). The chain-holder may at the same time form a belt-hook (4). It is also found composed of two completely separate pieces (5). As an end piece we sometimes find a round hook of the type of which we spoke in Chapter VII (6).

The combination of chain-holder and chain, but of a somewhat different type from the Chinese, is found in eastern Russia. It seems that in that region the plaque is rarely combined with an entire chain, but more often, with separate sections of a chain (7). Long links without rings are found west of the Ural (8). The development of the chain and its holder may be followed in the west in

Finnish (9) and Scandinavian (10) soil. It is significant that Arne considers the examples from the latter country an importation from the Baltic provinces north of Russia. In Finland as well as in Scandinavia, the date, in part reached by the discovery of coins, is about 1000. This date corresponds very well with that of the chain-holder of north China which should be of the same period (Plate XXXI no. 1). It is composed of a tiger with back-turned head standing on two short serpents. In front of the neck where usually there is a hook, is a large loop. The heart-shaped ear, the curled upper lip, and the collar, should be considered reminders of the ancient Chinese art of the III century B.C. On the other hand the beaded edge, the rosettes on the joints, and the ribbon around the middle of the body agree with the conventions of the late period. One should notice in particular that part of the background has been left although it has nothing to do with the composition. The artist forgot to clean his bronze after the casting. The general design is nothing but an adaptation of the plaque of Plate XIX no. 4, combined with a chain. We also find the roe, familiar to us from the study of belt-hooks (Plate XIX no. 7), here used as a ring-holder from which the chain was probably attached (Plate XXXI no. 2). The way in which the body is treated makes it impossible for this object to be later than its parallel, that is, it should be dated about the end of the I millennium. The same remarks hold good for Plate XXXI no. 3. Once more we find reminders of the very characteristic forms of ancient China usually identified with Ch'in art. The flat and engraved treatment of the animal-heads on the hook, the striped ribbons of the brows, as well as the geometric details in the middle of the bar, leave us in no doubt concerning the model. But the animals-heads which serve to hold the rings at the lower edge are very much farther away from ancient Chinese forms. It seems certain that the so called Ch'in style needs to be seriously studied in order to determine its limits in time and space. It is impossible to retain the narrow boundaries of the dates accepted today. In any event the chain-holder we have just described already proves the long duration of ornamental forms called Ch'in.

With Plate XXI no. 4 we find once more, above the rings, one of the commonest motives of our region. The ringed paws of the tiger, so simplified as to be unrecognisable, connects this piece with Minussinsk. This example is evidently a survival of that period after the year 1000. But the tiger of Plate XXXII no. 1, although it is less connected with Siberia, should be dated in the same way. The summary accentuation of the surface is dominated by the double spiral. Finally, with Plate XXXII no. 2 we reach an animal form above the rings that has completely degenerated and cannot be given a zoological determination. The last phase has been reached again, the beginning of the II millennium.

2) Separate pendants.

Under this heading we are placing all objects that by their form fall between

ring-holders, round hooks, and pendants, the purpose of which is uncertain, but for which there is always the possibility of their having been connected with a chain. It is only when this supposition is correct that these pieces can be placed among objects derived from the east of Russia. Although in two cases we find the well known hook, yet it would be incorrect to believe that they were connected in any way with a belt, as the ornamentation demands in every case that they should hang vertically.

A demon masque (Plate XXXII no. 3) holds a ring in its jaws. Above the head is a square loop. The serpent-head under the ring reminds one of the hooks on belt buckles. At each side of the demon are two ram-heads in profile. The ring itself is entirely covered with hollowed designs. This artistic treatment is reminiscent of the famous treasure of the Oxus where rings, particularly bracelets, are entirely covered with hollows once filled with inlay (11). We mentioned, when studying Plate XVI no. 4, that the grotesque masque belonged to Chinese art of the T'ang. Here it is combined with the technique of inlay of Scytho-Sarmatian art, and in particular with its richest group, the treasure of Oxus. It is quite possible that certain parts of this pendant were formerly inlayed. This unusual combination of forms suggests the end of the T'ang period.

Plate XXXII no. 4 should be considered a pendant in spite of the stunted hook at the lower edge. We shall speak of other forms of this type in Chapter IX, no. 3. The rim of disk and loop is composed of a beaded ribbon, each bead a little square. The principal decorative motive is a ribbon divided into four scrolls. As with all bronzes where the ornamentation is purely geometric, we suggest a date around 1000.

3) Decorated disks as pendants.

The objects with which we are here concerned are all pendants, as loops permit our understanding the way in which they were attached. Plate XXXII no. 5 has loops on each side of the centre of the ring. The edge is decorated with spirals, an inheritance from the Chinese. The collared animal in the middle should probably be considered a tiger. It is decorated with faintly drawn circles, and is probably of the period after 1000. Plate XXXII no. 6 has three loops, one below, and the other two above the middle of each side. The fabulous horned beast in the centre is difficult to understand in detail, since sections of metal connect the body with the edge. A foreleg touches the muzzle, the cork-screw tail can be seen above the lower loop, and in this way the animal is contorted in the Scytho-Sarmatian manner. Because of the weak ornamentation, the date should correspond with that of the preceding example. Next we have an object without loops but with a centre bar (Plate XXXII no. 7). In the upper half of the disk is a dragon with long upper lip, in the lower, a wild animal that might be a lion. The outlines are obscure and uncertain. Parallels of this bronze

enable us to place it under the above heading and allow us to trace its path. This north China disk is in every way allied with another from the region of Kiev (12), The latter has been placed in the V Slav period which comes just after the year 1000. The openwork and primitive dragon is duplicated in another European example from the extreme west of the Steppes, in Hungary, once again after the period of the " occupation of land " in the IX century (13). This representation should certainly descend from the Slavs who inhabited the east of Russia towards the end of the I millennium. We actually know but few openwork disks from that region, only those with geometric designs, none with animal designs (14). In any case the date of the Chinese object is proved by these parallels to be the beginning of the II millennium.

4) Ear-ornaments.

At first the purpose of the object of Plate XXXII no. 8 seems obscure. The regular ellipse along nearly one third of its outline has an oar-shaped projection decorated at the outside edge with a beaded ribbon, and inside with three beaded lines above a striped background. Bronzes from eastern Russia help us to understand the meaning of this object. In that region the earring in various forms and geometrically ornamented is known by numerous examples (15). The contour is always broken for a short distance so that one section can be bent to pass through the pierced lobe of the ear. This earring is nearly contemporary to the openwork disk we have just described (beginning of the II millennnium).

Parallels from east Russia also explain a bronze, the purpose of which has been misunderstood until now (Plate XXXII no. 9). Andersson has published a similar specimen as a belt buckle (16). But that it was designed to be an ornament for the ear is clear when one examines the two ends. Even the ornamentation helps us to reach the correct solution. It is composed of three dotted lines from which issue three projections. Below is an antilope-head in the round, the eyes and nostrils of which are inlayed with turquoise. This head can only be understood vertically, never horizontally as on a belt-clasp. It seems possible to date this piece with an animal decoration earlier than the example with but a geometric design, and it may be of about 1000.

NOTES OF CHAPTER VIII

(1) Pridik, pl. IV, 8.
(2) Tolstoï, Kondakoff, Reinach, vol. III, fig. 447, 451, 453.
(3) Pelliot, 3), p. 19.
(4) Andersson, 5), pl. XIV, 3.
(5) Andersson, 5), pl. XIV, 1.
(5) Andersson, 5), pl. XIV, 1.
(6) Andersson, 5), pl. XIV, 2.
(7) Spitzyn, 2), pl. XIV, e. o.
(8) Spitzyn, 1), pl. XXVII, 7.
(9) Aspelin, 1), p. 270, nº. 1343.
(10) Arne, 1), fig. 100.
(11) Dalton, pl. I and pl. XX, nº 144.
(12) Khanenko, vol. V, pl. XVIII, nº 252.
(13) Fettich, fig. 47.
(14) Spitzyn, 2), pl. IX, 1-3.
(15) Spitzyn, 2), pl. VII, 1-2.
(16) Andersson, 5), pl. XIII, 1.

CHAPTER IX

OBJECTS FROM MINUSSINSK

Of all Siberian centres where discoveries of large groups of objects have been made, that of the upper Jenissei is nearest to the northern Chinese frontier. Chinese texts have stated that the inhabitants of this region were in touch with the Celestial Empire, a fact that is additionally proved by the discovery of various Chinese pieces at Minussinsk. Already in previous chapters the study of the ornamental decoration has obliged us to refer to the Jenissei group. It is therefore not surprising that the same necessity arises when we refer to the utilization of numerous objects.

1) Sculpture in the round.

a) Burial statuettes.

The animal representation in the round with a hollowed and open base is one of the most usual types at the northern frontier of China. But we lack a sure foundation for any supposition concerning its purpose. The horizontal position of the figures, as well as their often considerable size, prevents their having been used as standard-tops. A bronze receptacle in the Cernuschi Museum in Paris has a small animal of the type here under discussion, that serves as a handle on the lid (1). But I believe this to be an exceptional case, and that the majority of animal statuettes accompanied the dead. China might be considered the originator of this custom if Minussinsk had not already many such examples. The Jenissei valley is, moreover, the only part of Siberia where burial statuettes are found. There, as in our region, the favourite animal is the roe, usually of tiny dimensions (2), with legs folded and framing the hollow underneath the body which is treated in the round. Only birds (3) of the beginning of the Kurgan period (beginning of our era, Plate XXXIII no. 1) are of a larger size. As these bird forms have not been entirely preserved, there is always the possibility of their having served another purpose. Besides they have not the hollow under the base which, at the Chinese frontier, the technical process by which they were cast, that is to say, the joining of two identical halves, does not sufficiently explain. It is possible that the opening at the base was the means

by which these objects were fixed to the soil of the tomb, since it seems likely that burial objects were placed with the dead in a certain arrangement. Pairs of animals on a square plaque are also found at the Chinese frontier, and were probably meant for the same purpose. Finally, the subject chosen for this type of figure seems to prove our supposition, since a soliped, an animal that was the food of the nomads procured either by hunting or by rearing, was nearly always reproduced.

The roe is executed in many different ways. This animal, either frightened or resting, is from an artistic point of view, the most successfully treated because of its naturalism. Startled, it is about to rise, or is alert with head turned back, or with head thrust forward scents an enemy. The conventional arrangement of the legs, drawn together or one above the other, has already been found in the oldest art of the Scythians on the shores of the Black Sea.

Many types of resting roe are found in pairs. This is true of the very attractive figure with back-turned head (Plate XXXIII no. 2). The Minussinsk perforations are entirely lacking, the holes which can be seen in the reproduction being due to the decay of the surface. The body is only slightly articulated, a type that does not seem possible before the end of the I millennium. The same date applies to the roe with head straight froward (Pl. XXXIII, no. 3). This figure seems to express a certain calm repose, rather than an animal on the alert and listening. There is no hollow here between the legs and belly, but instead there are two holes, meant perhaps for a transversal peg.

The standing animal is unusual (Plate XXXIII no. 4), but even here we find a hollow so that the legs have only an outside surface.

With Plate XXXIII no. 5 we are approaching mechanically repeated forms, that is, we are entering the II millennium. The tongue can be seen in this example, a peculiarity only to be looked for when a dying or dead animal is figured. But here the straining neck of the roe gives it the appearance of life. Plate XXXIII no. 6 shows us once again the characteristics of a period after 1000. The careless casting of the two halves, the edges of which have not been cleaned, the unmodeled surface, so simplified that it is primitive in form, all point to a late date. The tongue is visible again in a variation of the last example (Plate XXXIV no. 1). It is impossible to determine whether the animal is about to spring forward or is collapsing on the ground. We find a geometric ornamentation on a small animal that originally was reproduced in a naturalistic style (Plate XXXIV no. 2). The decoration is composed of round spiral ribbons on the joints, and an angular spiral on the belly. So conventional a rendering seems only possible in the II millennium.

Plate XXXIV no. 3 is such a combination of incongruous animal forms that it entirely lacks naturalism. Only the legs seem to be those of a roe. The elongated body, the upturned tail, the small ears, all belong to a wild animal.

There is even a short goat-like beard. The spiral of the upper lip has been discussed many times in animal figurations from the Steppes.

Among burial statuettes there are other game and domestic animals of northern Asia. We are again at the beginning of the II millennium with Plate XXXIV no. 5. In spite of the stylization and the bad proportions of the body, it is possible to recognise this animal as a ram by its curved horns. The ram-head of Plate XXXIV no. 4 appears much too big, and the simplification is extreme, even the horns are smooth. The degeneracy of this work tempts one to replace the II millennium date by terming it " of no period ".

It is exceptional to find the head of a ruminant combined with the fangs, claws and body of a wild animal (Plate XXXIV no. 6). Such a figure must have served in the tomb as a guardian animal, and the lifted and alert head seems to agree with this supposition. A surface so geometrically treated with regular grooves is only possible in the II millennium.

b) Small sculpture in the round.

Small figures in the round will be added here as there is always the possility of their having formed part of the burial paraphernalia. Their small size certainly made them easy to transport, a fact that makes it difficult to associate them with any one artistic centre.

The horse (Plate XXXVI no. 1) is purely Chinese in form, well modeled, very realistic, that is, entirely in the style of then Han period. Similar pieces have been found in Korea (4). The date of this repliqua, so closely allied to its model, should be between the Han and T'ang dynasties. The way in which the tiny stag is treated (Plate XXXV no. 2) places it in the same period. However, the fact that this animal was chosen tempts one to connect it with northern Asia. A reminder of China of the period of the Six Dynasties is apparent in the man with upraised arms (Plate XXXV no. 3). His long jacket, buttoned at the side, is ornamented in front with dotted lines, a decoration that is usually associated with the Ch'in period, but which has survived into much later times, as we have already often mentioned. It is of particular interest that a small case hangs from the middle of the belt through which a dagger is thrust obliquely.

We reach the T'ang period with the life-like sculpture of a frog (Plate XXXV no. 4). A contemporary insect (Plate XXXV no. 5) has an arrangement at the back with which to fasten it, and it may therefore be either a burial object or an applique.

2) Pendant drops.

Once again the purpose of these objects is as uncertain as their centre of inspiration. The very realistic horse (Plate XXXV no. 6) is reproduced in an identical manner by specimens from excavations in northern Korea (5), and our example belongs, therefore, between Han and T'ang. It seems probable that this object was meant to be suspended, as the tail has purposely been formed into a

loop; but as it would not hang in a normal position such a purpose would probably only be possible if it were intended to accompany the dead.

Plate XXXV no. 7 seems entirely to lack all Chinese influence. Here too the holes were certainly not accidentaly made, but in this case they are placed so that the object might hang in a natural way. The monkey astride a horse corresponds to the hooks of Plate XXIX no. 3, but more primitively and summarily treated, and so lacking in careful details that its date must be brought forward into the II millennium. The monkey has been replaced by a loop above the saddled horse of Plate XXXV no. 8, that is otherwise so similar to the preceding example that we are able to give it the same date. A monkey eating fruit, cast in two halves (Plate XXXV no. 9), is a repetition of the rider of Plate XXXV no. 7 and stylistically certainly belongs to the II millennium. This crouching animal, moreover, goes back to very ancient Steppe models. We may remember the monkey with its young, carved in bone, found by Radloff in a tomb in the Altai (6), which must be dated Han, and which is proof that this motive survived for more than a thousand years with little alteration, unless a weakening in form should be so considered.

The ram-head (Plate XXXV no. 10), is so well modeled that it may be placed at the end of the I millennium in spite of its somewhat summary treatment. The same date seems possible for the doubled human-heads (Plate XXXV no. 11), the features and hair arrangement of which are not in the least Chinese. The motive itself is part of the original inheritance from the Near East. It has already reached the Eurasiatic Steppes in the pre-Scythian period of the Caucasus about 800 B.C. (example in the Historical Museum of Moscow, unpublished). The heaviness of this object suggests that it may have served as a weight, as it appears too heavy to have been designed as a pendant. In any case, had it been so used, it would have had to be suspended upside down.

The bird (Plate XXXV no. 12) which may be a duck, has no parallel although the loop on its back leaves no doubt as to its purpose. Small accessories could be attached to the breast and to each end of the transversal bar which is pierced. The date of this object should also be about 1000.

The probable date for all the flat pendant drops is about the year 1000. The loop on the object of Plate XXXV no. 13 combines its use as a pendant with that of an applique, as is the case with other examples of this type. The large protuberances at the back correspond to those of an applique. The hare seems well observed but with stylized details.

The pendants (Plate XXXV nos. 14 & 15), certainly unrecognisable as such, have adopted without alteration the tiger and the hare of the harness-appliques on Plate XXX no. 4. As for the stags (Plate XXXV nos. 16 & 17), once more to be hung only upside down, the first corresponds artistically with the above

mentioned harness-ornaments, while the second, already weak in form, should be placed at the end of our art.

3) Weapons.

We have shown that northern Chinese frontier objects are derived from various regions of the Eurasiatic Steppes. As far as use and ornamentation are concerned, only weapons may all be connected with one locality alone. They always go back to Minussinsk art. There is but little information concerning the intercourse of these neighbours of China with their hinterland until the middle of the I millennium, and this intercourse is therefore not easy to explain. Probably in ancient times the upper valley of the Jenissei was a centre of exportation, which would be the reason for their playing so important a role as promoter of forms. Moreover, this region was so favoured by natural conditions, that it, more than any other, was fitted to be the home of art.

This branch of our study will have to be incomplete, due partly to lack of space. We shall first deal with hacking, cutting and stabbing weapons. Axes, mattocks and other weapons will be dealt with in another work.

a) Daggers with thorns.

M. P. Grjasnoff has pointed out that the dagger with thorns is the oldest type in the art of metals (7). It is characterised by the two projections at either side of the guard, by its long rugged handle crowned with an animal-head, usually that of a stag the antlers of which form arcs, and finally by the loop which serves as a means of attaching the weapon. Grjasnoff accepts the date of 1000 B.C., first established by Teplouchoff for daggers of a Jenissei origin (8), that is to say of the Minussinsk bronze era, which Teplouchoff calls Kara-suk. Grjasnoff's example from Verkhne-udinsk belongs to this group. It should first be mentioned that the succession established by these two Russian authors for this type deserves complete confidence, but they are inclined to give too early a date. It seems advisable, as we have already pointed out in Chapter V, to make the Kurgan period continue until the middle of the I millennium A.D. and to admit the possibility of a slow degeneration in Siberia proper. Grjasnoff lays stress on the somewhat stylised character of the example of which he speaks. But another specimen from Tchita, crowned with a ram-head, deserves even more than this piece to represent the typical art of Kara-suk (Plate XXXVI no. 1) because of its style. It is characterised by a combination of naturalistic and stylised elements typical of the conventional art of the Steppes and from which degenerated, confused, and badly proportioned forms presumably descend.

The type of the two-edged dagger is probably older than the knives of which we shall speak later on. The Loo collection owns a repliqua of the dagger with thorns that comes from the north of China (Plate XXXVI no. 2). If we compare it with the Tchita weapon, which is certainly earlier than the beginning of our era, the resemblance as a whole, as well as the slight differences are

self-evident. Among these differences we should particularly observe that here the handle is smooth and that the blade has a medial rib also familiar to us in the Jenissei valley (9). The eye, which at Minussinsk is perforated, has here become a cup, and the loop is obliquely placed. The arrangement of the masses has been entirely changed. With the flattened muzzle and hanging jowls we are getting away from the original conception to an extent that would be impossible in the country of its origin. We can no longer determine whether the animal is an elk, an antilope, or a ram. Already when dealing with pole-tops, we have attempted to establish a stylistic order for animal representations beginning with the naturalistic, to end with the conventional form. This order may also be followed with the animal-heads of dagger-handles, as well as with the daggers themselves. This leads us to a date near the end of the I millennium. One fact, however, remains puzzling, and that is how an art, limited as to period in Siberia, replaced by new forms in the Han period, could be preserved and secreted, to reappear more than 500 years later at the northern frontier of China. It is impossible to doubt the encompassing dates, but where are the intermediaries? Perhaps still in the earth between the Jenissei and the Ordos.

One fact should be remembered, and that is that these weapons were never meant to be used practically, and it is the artistic ornamentation that leads us to believe that they served for ceremonial purposes alone. These objects were used in schamanistic rites. The world of sorcery has always facilitated the transmission of ancient customs, and therefore of ancient forms (10).

b) Knives with thorns, crowned with animal-heads in the round.

That the dagger with thorns has been changed into a curved knife has been pointed out by Grjasnoff (11). There is again no intermediary between the Minussinsk dagger of about the year 500 B.C. and the north of China knife of the end of the I millennium. Let us first examine the knife of Plate XXXVI no. 3 which should be dated about 500. The long handle is undecorated except for a ribbon that holds the loop. It is crowned with a plastic mule-head the nostrils of which are perforated and ringed, while the eyes are merely pierced.

This kinship with Minussinsk is disappearing in about 1000 (Plate XXXVI no. 4). Here the handle is decorated with a long centre perforation and by ridged lines which go down each side and form a herring-bone design upon a low and framed background. There is nothing to separate the handle from the stag-head form at the top. The loop under the neck grows wider at the lower jaw and corresponds, so to speak, with the curve of the smooth antlers. The nostrils and the perforations of the eyes have been reduced to little cups which perhaps once held turquoise. These hybrid forms, weak and unnatural, seem to indicate the same date as that of the iron dagger, about 1000. This object very clearly shows the trend of art in our region at this period.

With Plate XXXVI no. 5 we are nearing the last phase, the beginning of the

second millennium. The handle is geometrically decorated with dotted and zig-zag ribbons. The latter are repeated at each narrow side, framed by three buttons. The animal decoration above the loop is doubled. It is not possible to see by the reproduction in profile that there are two heads separated by a space, with three quarters of each muzzle in front and only one half farther back. The four nostrils are again cups, while the eyes seem to be pierced. The two horns, slashed horizontally, that is geometrically and quite unnaturally, are connected by a button at the middle of the curves. The ears have been broken. This head shows an unsurpassed disintegration of the motive, so exaggerated as to be absurd. It is more an abstract ornament than an animal figuration. There can be no doubt of its being of a later period than a realistic creation. It is still always unexplained, however, how the famous " Asiatic retardation " could have embraced so long a period.

c) Knives with ring-topped handles.

The original form, knives with thorns, has already suffered numerous alterations even in Minussinsk. An example of this fact is the substitution of other forms for plastically decorated handles. Teplouchoff considers that the knife crowned with a flat ring belongs to the Kara-Suk period (cf. Plate III, line III, no. 52). But he also knows of examples of the Kurgan period (cf. Plate III, line IV 2, no. 88). As is the case with nearly all forms from the Jenissei valley, this too has successors at the Chinese frontier, but for these the date is particularly difficult to find, as decorations are often more or less lacking and the object therefore offers no guiding-marks. Sometimes conclusions may be reached from the general form. We always find a slight S-shaped curve which begins above the point and curves in the opposite direction. But the thorn is sometimes indistinct or has entirely disappeared. When it is very marked as in Plate XXXVII no. 1 the object deserves to be placed among the first Chinese repetitions, that is, in the Han period. This date is confirmed by the large symetrically formed ring, by the careful casting, and finally by the patina.

The opening may also be placed on the handle itself. In this case a flat button is often found above it. With an example of this type (Plate XXXVII no. 2) we have already touched the end of the I millennium, as clearly the ornamentation is of a geometric character. It is composed of kauri shells, a motive extremely ancient in the east, but which at the Chinese frontier has probably lost its original meaning. In the course of our study we have a number of times run across such repliquas where all symbolic meaning has been lost.

The knife with attenuated thorn (Plate XXXVII no. 3) is to be considered an example of the same period. The ring on the handle has become an elliptic loop. The decoration on each side is composed of birds, absolutely geometric, placed irregularly along the handle, the summary rendering of which is in perfect agreement with the general tendency accepted here.

An engraved design is on the knife of Plate XXXVII no. 4 under the large ring but only on one side. This stag is far from having the fresh and natural treatment of an eary period. One has only to notice the shape and bad proportions of the legs to realise that this drawing is the work of an awkward period, that is the period that comes after the year 1000.

The thorn has entirely disappeared on the knife (Plate XXXVII no. 5) the decoration of which is composed of a row of triangles on one side, while the other has a smooth ribbon with a triangle at the top. Kurgan art at Minussinsk does not lack knives ornamented in a purely geometric manner (Plate III, line III no. 53), but there, careful work is nearly always found on both sides. The infinitely more primitive ornament of the Chinese frontier should belong to the beginning of the II millennium.

The same date should be given to a decoration in the form of rows of dots, in this case on both sides of the handle of a knife (Plate XXXVII no. 6), the uncertain contour of which is in itself sufficient reason for a late date.

d) Knives with handles crowned with animal forms or buttons.

The diversity in the types of knives to be found at Minussinsk is inexhaustable, and there are thousands of examples. The straight or slightly curved knife is possible on the Jenissei in the Han period, but it is relatively rare among the Scythians of the Black Sea, and when found, is decorated with an animal-head and belongs to the end of that-art (V-IV centuries) (12). However, Bobrinskoj dates an example from Chigirin of the VI-V centuries (13). Merhart has already spoken of the considerable independance of Siberian knife forms (14). He is inclined to consider them local creations. Tallgren particularly mentions the long duration of knives at Minussinsk (15), and speaks of their " late age " of " the end of the bronze age " and of an example in a Russian collection which bears an Uigur inscription of the VIII century (probably authentic). The conclusions of the Finnish scholar agree very well with ours and supply an essential support.

Undoubtedly the Minussinsk knives were developed at the Chinese frontier, since decorative details are found there which are not included in the Jenissei inventory of forms. The ring-shaped opening which is predominant on Plate XXXVII is seldom entirely missing, but is sometimes reduced in size. At times it nearly disappears between the legs of animals only slightly in the round which stand on the handles (16). While in the Jenissei the muzzles do not considerably protrude over the handles but bend down towards the forelegs, the boar on a knife from the Loo collection projects well over one side (Plate XXXVIII no. 1). The details have become greatly stylised, a tendency that is emphasised by the spirals on the joints. We place this piece about the year 1000. An animal, turned in the opposite direction to the blade, is unusual (Plate XXXVIII no. 2) while the position and size correspond to those we know from

Minussinsk. The indistinct horns of the animal characterises it as a ram, as do the stylised buttons on the body. The handle has geometric ribbons on each side, a square meander on the side reproduced, a triangular meander on the other. The date should correspond to that of the preceding piece.

We reach the II millennium, however, with Plate XXXVIII no. 3. The crouching animal at the top is extremely weak in form, the handle and blade are scarcely separated.

The handle, entirely altered into an animal form, identical on both sides, seems to be a peculiarity of the northern frontier (Plates XXXVIII nos. 4 & 5). In each case the unrecognisable head makes it impossible to determine the species of the animal. Only the II millennium would appear possible for such rudimentary forms.

The knife crowned with a bird-head (Plate XXXVIII no. 6) is unaccentuated along its entire length. Its decoration is comprehensible, but this fact does not justify an earlier date. Once more the hole is cleverly formed by the beak.

In Plate XXXVIII no. 7 the hole is vertically pierced and not horizontally as is usual. It passes through a half-button. The handle is covered with a threadline pattern in relief which forms different animal shapes on each side. One can easily distinguish the jaws of a wild animal. Once more the primitiveness of the rendering implies a date towards the beginning of the II millennium.

Because of the small size of the two knives we have just described, they may have been used as burial gifts, fairly usual at Minussinsk. This was certainly the purpose of the knife of Plate XXXVIII no. 8, moreover this piece is only decorated on one side and not pierced at the top. The means by which it could be hung seems rather to be at the lower end of the handle, ornamented with two zig-zag ribbons. The uncertain casting proves this example to be of the last period.

e) Daggers with decorated handles.

We owe to Tallgren the detailed description of Minussinsk daggers (17). He mentions their original form, probably derived from the Near East, their diffusion over all the civilizations of the ancient world and the agreement of different forms in Siberia not connected with any evolution. Although they are related to Scythian daggers, those from the Jenissei comprise many special forms extremely rich in variations. Teplouchoff places this type among those belonging to the end of the Kurgan periods which correspond to that of the end of the Han (Plate III, line IV, 3, no. 104), while Tallgren once again emphasises the possibility of a late creation. It is scarcely necessary to mention that we too are of the latter opinion. Because of the long survival of all types one beside the other, the date depends upon the artistic execution. We still pay no attention to the inconvenience of considering the objects from this point of view.

Plate XXXIX no. 1 has probably no model in the northwest. The guard is

exceptional in this case as it does not protrude. At each side it bears a pair of stags in relief, facing each other with heads turned outward, superficially rendered, but nevertheless comprehensible. The long handle widens imperceptably at the top and is uncrowned. Its decoration is composed of five pairs of vulture-heads, looking down. All of these motives are very old in the Steppe circle. In this case their fairly good plastic quality may permit them still to belong to the middle of the I millennium.

About the same period fits the dagger of Plate XXXIX no. 2 crowned with an arc, double channelled and with a pronounced guard, which corresponds to numerous examples from Minussinsk (18). As in that region, the arc ends with two facing eagle-heads. At times these are replaced with simple antennae in nearly every region to which this type has spread. The guard formed of two eagle-heads, back to back, is rare.

At Minussinsk the guard is usually in the form of a heart or of a trapezium. These two forms are also found in our region (Plate XXXIX no. 4). In this example the separate handle has been cast in a darker alloy, and treated up to the bird-heads as one field, decorated at each side with geometric forms derived from the double spiral. The ornament only partly conforms to the outline. This dagger has already reached the end of the millennium. The drawing on the blade is exceptional. On each side it shows a long-tailed salamander.

Plate XXXIX no. 3 demonstrates with what ease Chinese elements may be connected with those from Eurasia (unfortunately only the back which lacks some of the ornamental motives has been reproduced). The guard with a geometric design at the centre and outward-turned bird-heads at each end carelessly cast, is derived from the Steppes. The handle which ends in an elliptical and open ring is formed of a phoenix-head with a small spiral at the end, and is entirely Chinese (19). Examples found in Korea belong to the III-V centuries. This Chinese formation is entirely fantastic, as much because of the head as for the connection with the arc. Our example has kept the original form, but has varied it in a way unknown until now. At the end of the handle is a ram-head which is connected with the arc by the horns. When we date this piece at the second half of the I millennium, we are influenced more by the decorations on the guard than by those of the handle which seem to belong to a higher art, and which therefore are a reminder of greater antiquity.

We have mentioned that Chinese elements also survive at the northern frontier. They are often found on a frequent Minussinsk type where there is a vertical perforation through the top and which probably held a pin. In this case the guard then becomes smaller in size (Plate XXXIX no. 5). This example has a monster-mask broken up with spirals which correspond to a style called in China, Ch'in. The confused interlacing of the design on the flat button at the top of the handle also corresponds very well with the Chinese group. But they

are only repetitions of ancient motives that easily continue to the middle of the I millennium. Plate XXXIX no. 6 warrants the same date. Here the opening for the pin is not the usual round hole but instead is in the form of a slit. The monster-head is completely geometric, broken up with thread-line forms. They frame cups that sometimes still hold turquoise. Generally these imitations of so-called Ch'in ornaments resemble their models fairly closely. They lack precision, however, and the decorated background which is never lacking in Ch'in examples.

4) Objects of accoutrement.

The inventory of the Minussinsk horseman is not by any means completely known. It would certainly be possible to add other objects to those compiled by-Martin and Tallgren, had the discoveries of the last few years been published.

a) Scabbards.

Tallgren has proved the existence of scabbards for curved weapons in the Minussinsk region (20). His examples are wider at the opening but not so curved as ours, yet the essential characteristics remain the same. In each case the bronze is completed with leather to form the scabbard. It is decorated on one side only, and the animals placed along the edge are smooth and unmodeled at the back. This may be explained by the fact that the scabbard touched the clothing. As for two examples from the Loo collection (Plate XL nos. 1 & 2), it seems likely that they hung in a nearly horizontal position because of the square loops on each corner of the upper edge. On the second piece there is another pair of loops on the lower edge as well, but it is impossible to explain their purpose. The oblique ribbons which form the outside of the scabbards are ornamented with dots. It is the string of animals, once six stags so close that they touch each other, the other seven separate geese, which helps us to solve the question of date. The stags have the characteristic Minussinsk round perforations in the eyes, nostrils and antlers, but otherwise they are rather summarily executed. The rendering of only the elementary features is even more pronounced with the geese. This brings us to a date at the end of the I millennium, a date given to knives that were of the same style.

An extremely interesting object (Plate XL no. 3) is without parallel. We have added it only provisionally to the group of scabbards because of its general shape. It differs from the preceding pieces, the purpose of which is unmistakable, in that it is open below, and that the two sides are treated in the same way except for the ornamental ribbon along the sides. The inner side has five holes on the socket section, one under each animal head, surrounded by a smooth frame. There are two more holes on the edge, behind the first and in front of the last animal-head. On one side of the arc, only slightly curved, we find a chain of triangles on a low background, while the other side has two denticulated bands that come from each edge, their points touching a medial bar which

separates them. This same design is found on the necks of the four horses, with openwork manes. A final motive is behind them, a ram-head with a bird above its horns. The summary modeling of the animals is reminiscent of a period around 1000. To the unanswered riddle of its purpose we must also add the baffling question as to its meaning. There was certainly some significance in the mind of the artist who made it. One may suppose that it belongs to the mythological group of which Hentze speaks (21). If we examine only the general form, we notice that it corresponds very well with part of an object found in China as well as at Minussinsk. I find it possible to imagine that it may be a cart yoke, proved by Martin to have existed at Minussinsk (22). But the side projections which are always present at Minussinsk and in China are missing in this strange bronze from the Loo collection. The opening below, however, has been repeated. Perhaps this piece is a yoke to which the side pieces were attached separately. If our theory is accepted, this object must nevertheless be considered a miniature copy and destined for burial purposes exclusively.

b) Holders.

Objects thus named were probably fastened to reins, but should not be confused with appliques and plaques, as the elementary form is quite different. In this case the ornament entirely surrounds the reins which are drawn through the holder. The square examples have a transversal opening in the form of an elongated oval. The reproductions do not clearly show that this object is very much like our metal match-holders, open at each end. There can be no doubt that they are derived from Minussinsk where we find the same type with animals on one slightly openwork side, while the reverse side is smooth and considerably more perforated. In the Jenissei the front is usually decorated with facing animals, (23) contorted in the Scythian and Sarmatian manner. There are pairs of dragons (Historical Museum, Moscou) and pairs of tigers (Plate XL no. 4). In the art of Minussinsk this type is relatively late, of about the first half of the I millennium. The form is repeated at the Chinese frontier with but little alteration, except that the whole rectangle is decorated. Plate XL no. 5 shows a boar in profile, the primitive drawing of which does not seem possible before 1000.

In the form of a short tube, open at top and bottom, with a horizontal circular cut and the upper edge projecting forward, this object is also found in the Jenissei. Tallgren reproduces one example with an openwork back and calls it " ornament for the ends of reins " (24). The decoration on the outside appears to be the head of a ruminant. A repliqua from the north of China only differs from the Siberian piece in that the back is unperforated. The date is also about 1000.

c) Ornamental disks.

With the unperforated disk bearing a handle on the upper rim we overlap a little the pendants grouped in Chapter VIII (Plate XXXII no. 4). This object

is characteristic of the Minussinsk region, not only when it has a simple loop, but also when there is an animal form at the top (25). Its small size seems to us to be against its having been used as a mirror, and at the Chinese frontier we must add to this reason the important fact that there are sometimes drawings and inscriptions on both sides of the disk. Tallgren (26) and Merhart (27) prefer to consider this object a belt-ornament rather than a mirror. The latter use was perhaps the original one. It is interesting to turn here to a Chinese text, quoted by Hirth, according to which it is claimed that already in the VII century B.C. there were mirrors used as belt-ornaments (28). It has never been possible, however, to find a Chou mirror. It seems likely that this object was one of the many forms later borrowed from the Steppes.

At Minussinsk, besides the figure of a naturalistic animal placed on the edge in the guise of a handle, one finds a pair of animal-heads above their prey (29). This type, according to Teplouchoff, ends with the I century A.D. (Plate III, line IV, 3, no. 98); according to Tallgren, with the V century A.D. (30), which is certainly more exact. A date later than Han is therefore necessary for the same type at the Chinese frontier. Andersson has supplied us with the first example from this region (31).

The disk from the north of China belonging to the Guimet Museum (Plate XLI nos. 1 & 2) at once offers a difficulty with the question of what the animal on the handle can be. It seems fairly well modeled. The same animal, less clearly drawn, is often found at Minussinsk placed on the tops of daggers. Because of the head which is bent down, Merhart has called it the " browsing animal " (32). But the strong claws and the fangs do not give the impression of an inoffensive beast. I consider it to be a wolf, an animal which we have encountered several times (cf. Plate XV no. 8). When the head is raised, as on a standard-top in the Tchita Museum (unpublished), it is clearly some wild species. It seems possible to me that in the region of Lake Baikal, still but little excavated, this motive may exist in a perfected style, while at Minussinsk it only happens to be found in a degenerated form. As we pointed out in Chapter VI, it is not surprising to find the wolf an important animal in this art. In myths which deal with the origin of the Turks, and even of the Mongols, it plays a leading role. The Yuan emperors still remembered their ancestor, the " grey wolf " (33).

Both sides of this disk are decorated. Let us first examine the back (Plate XLI no. 2). It has, etched on the surface, a resting stag, upside down, the proportions of which are not very clear. The body is decorated with large spirals, a sign of a relatively late period (cf. the dog, Plate XI no. 11). The other side holds an inscription in Si-hia characters. That a disk should be used for the purpose of writing is not surprising. Chinese mirrors with inscriptions in ancient Turkish have been observed a number of times in northern Asia (34). It is interesting that Minns believes that the Si-hia inscriptions on this object and on the

following examples, may have been added at a later period (35). I do not understand his reasons, and am unable to accept his theory, since the object as well as the Si-hia letters bring us to the same date. Besides it is impossible to believe that the Si-hias excavated bronzes nearly 1000 years old, in order to place inscriptions open them.

A disk from the Loo collection (36) without an inscription, but meant for the same purpose, is an isolated example (Plate XLI, no. 3). Three animal motives are placed symetrically on three sections of the rim, while we may presume that a fourth animal motive has been broken off. We can determine the top and bottom by the loop at the back. On each side we find pairs of animals placed so that one is directly behind the other. We are familiar with the circular motive on the paws which make them Merhart's "animal with the ringed paws" (37). Below the jaws of each lower animal is an antilope-head identical to that of Plate XIV no. 5. Above (and probably originally, below) we find a pair of bird-heads back to back. The eyes are rendered in the same way as those of the animals. As for the date, an earlier period than the beginning of the II millennium is impossible because of the summary treatment of the animal motives.

Their use as hanging disks is always proved for the other examples of this group, not by a loop at the back, but by the handle at the upper edge. The design of Plate XLI no. 4 has been much obliterted by the patina. It is, however, composed of arbitrary and confused spirals. A similar ornamental idea has been found on a sarcophagus in Mongolia dated of the VIII century (38). It would seem that the artist attempted to imitate the free drawing of the Chinese models of the T'ang period. Still closer to our disk are the fragments of a mirror in the Zaoussailov collection also ornamented with inorganic designs (39). Tallgren and Arne date these fragments about 1250. Their stylistic agreement with the Chinese frontier disk is significant and permits of a close connection concerning the date.

The smooth disk with a simple handle has already been found at Minussinsk (40). At the Chinese frontier it bears an inscription in Si-hia characters (Plate XLI no. 5). Another example with the same writing is shown on Plate XLI no. 6. The fact that the handle melts into the general contour makes the form more that of a gourd than of a circle with a separate handle. The edge is in relief. As for all examples which bear Si-hia inscriptions, the " terminus post quem " for this piece also, is furnished by the invention of this writing. The Chinese example therefore assumes particular importance since it serves to date a whole series of ornamental disks spread extensively all over the Steppes (41). The best example comes from western Eurasia in the region at the mouth of the Don (Plate XLI no. 7). Here, instead of an inscription, the disk bears an ornament in relief. It is a human figure, extremely primitive in form. It conforms very

well with the approximate date which was reached through Si-hia writing, since the same human form is fairly frequent in the rock-drawings of the Jenissei (42), which nevertheless are earlier than our group by several centuries (VII-VIII century).

We find Si-hia inscriptions once again on the two examples of " bell-shaped cash " (one represented Plate XLI. no. 8) nearly entirely lacking in patina. This money was used in the T'ang period (43). It has been altered into a flattened pendant with a square handle, and remains fairly thick. Only an inscription decorates the surface.

The bases by which objects with Si-hia inscriptions may be dated have been given by W. Baruch in Chapter V. This date has been confirmed by the ornaments themselves, and to a certain extent, by the condition of their surfaces. The relative certainty with which we may place this group of objects in the beginning of the II millennium considerably supports the hypothetical structure of dates which we are using in our study.

d) Sickles.

The sickle is of frequent use all over the circle of the Steppes. We have a detailed monograph on this object by Tallgren (44) who points out that the chief Siberian characteristic is formed by the handle which follows uninterruptedly the curve of this implement (45). The well known publications on Minussinsk give some idea of the frequent appearence of this object there (46).

At the northern Chinese frontier the decoration is found on only one side of the sickle (Plate XLII no. 1). It is composed of a thin band of oblique ridges which follow the line of the framed back, and of oblique ridges which move in the opposite direction on the blade. A narrow section remains plain and serves as handle. Tallgren has found in different regions of the Steppes, sickles that are ridged, but only in the direction of the blade (47). Our example is probably not for use, but is a symbolic object. Referring once more to the opinion of Tallgren, he considers that sickles from the Ukraine had a monetary or weight value (48). Comparitively, we lack guiding-marks for the date. It should be looked for in about the middle of the I millennium.

NOTES OF CHAPTER IX

(1) D'Ardenne de Tizac, pl. 56a.
(2) Martin, pl. 29, 5-6.
(3) Martin, pl. 33, 1.
(4) Fujita, Umehara, Koizumi, pl. XII, 3.
(5) Sekino, Yatsui, Kuriyama, Oba, Ogawa, Nomori, texte nº 271-72 ; Fujita, Umehara, Koizumi, pl. XXXV, 3.

(6) Radloff, 2), pl. 12, 7.
(7) Grjasnoff.
(8) Téplouchoff, p. 60.
(9) Martin, pl. 23, 9-15.
(10) Nioradse, 1), p. 6.
(11) Grjasnoff, fig. 6, 7.
(12) Tallgren, 2), p. 44.
(13) Bobrinskoj, 1), p. 21, fig. 52.
(14) Merhart, p. 121.
(15) Tallgren, 2), p. 43.
(16) Martin, pl. 16, 9-27.
(17) Tallgren, 2), p. 40.
(18) Martin, pl. 22, 4-6.
(19) Janse, pl. XIV, 1, XVIII, 1.
(20) Tallgren, 2), p. 46.
(21) Hentze, 2), chap. II B and H.
(22) Martin, pl. 24, 8-11.
(23) Martin, pl. 30, 21.
(24) Tallgren, 2), p. 67, fig. 73-74.
(25) Martin, pl. 30, 8-12.
(26) Tallgren, 2), p. 56.
(27) Merhart, p. 35.
(28) Hirth, p. 213.
(29) Borovka, 1), pl. 44 a.
(30) Tallgren, 2), p. 57.
(31) Andersson, 4), pl. I, 2.
(32) Merhart, p. 125.
(33) Cahun, p. 86 and 205.
(34) Radloff, 2), vol. III, p. 327.
(35) Minns, 2), p. 8.
(36) Rostovtzeff, 4), pl. VIII, 39.
(37) Merhart, p. 126.
(38) Radloff, 1), vol. I, pl. XII, 4.
(39) Tallgren, 1), pl. IX, 27-28.
(40) Martin, pl. 30, 9.
(41) Rau, fig. 27, b, Uvarov, 1), pl. LXXV, 7 and 12.
(42) Savenkov, pl. IX.
(43) Schlösser, pl. 21, 5-6.
(44) Tallgren, 4).
(45) Tallgren, 4), p. 191, fig. 107, 6.
(46) Martin, pl. 10, 2), Tallgren, 2), pl. V, 6-8.
(47) Tallgren, 4), fig. 80, p. 147. p. 190.
(48) Tallgren, 4), p. 193.

CHAPTER X

OBJECTS DERIVED FROM CHINA

This chapter-heading is justified when we deal with objects from the point of view of use. It has, however, a provisory character since some day certain objects may be found in Siberia, the inventory of which is far from having been sufficiently studied.

1) The handles of horizontal poles.

An explanation of the probable use of Plate XLII nos. 2 & 3 is reached by means of the decoration. The object is a combination of horizontal pole and animal representation that cannot be understood when upright. Since the work of Steppe artists was always more or less in keeping with nature, a vertical position, that is, one that is unnatural, is impossible. The size of this piece justifies us perhaps in considering it a shaft-end. I have published the Chinese model of this type elsewhere (1). But this object also goes back alternatively to the ancient Near East. It is only necessary to remember a bas-relief of the VIII century B.C. from the Palace of Sargon (Louvre, Paris). Two eunuchs are bearing a light chair, the shaft of which not only slightly curves and ends with an animal-head, but has also below the head, a loop with a pompon attached (2).

China of the Han period also knew the S-shaped shaft-end (3). That of Plate XLII nos. 2 & 3 is slightly wider at the end and considerably more important than in Chinese examples. But the animal-head is not at all Chinese. Below the neck is the loop common to Chinese shaft-ends and to the dagger handles of Minussinsk and of the northern Chinese frontier (cf. Plate XXXVI). It represents an ibex with curled horns. The chief characteristic of all local manifestations in the Eurasiatic Steppes, from the Scythians down to Minussinsk, is the combination of naturalistic and stylised elements. Even in a region where naturalism predominated as in the Jenissei valley, conventional elements were nevertheless added, as for example the formation of the eyes (Plate V, no. 2). On the shaft-end of Plate XLII nos. 2 & 3 only the horns appear stylised. They are reminiscent of those which we saw on knives and daggers (Plate XXXVI). But the head reproduces only real elements. The surface is subtly and delicately modeled

and is more perfect than any animal representation we have seen so far at the northern frontier. When we compare the artistic treatment of the knife and dagger handles on Plate XXXVI with the detail (Plate XLII no. 3), we are following the path of art in the circle of the Steppes. The shaft-end in the Loo collection is one of only a very few examples of the beginning, and at the same time one of the most perfect from the point of view of art. Such natural and unimpaired freshness is only possible in the Han period, probably only in the beginning of that period. This combination of artistic forms is less akin to the Steppes than to China, and it is to this country that we owe its careful and perfect figuration. The only barbarian influence is in the rendering of the horns.

A purely horizontal object as that of Plate XLII no. 4 is easier to explain. Identical objects of the Han period have been found in China. Moreover, shaft-ends have often been confused with pole-tops, as for example the wild ass of the Sauphar collection now in the Louvre. It is impossible to imagine this animal sitting on its hind-quarters, and it was certainly never meant to be so ridiculously placed (4). The artist has given the shaft-end of Plate XLII no. 4 the form of a wild sheep (argali), an ewe since it has no horns. But it has hair on the breast, however, like the male sheep. Even more than on Plate VII no. 4 the hanging tongue gives the impression that this is either a dying animal or one already dead. As with the hedgehog of Plate VII no. 1 where certain parts of the shaft seem to be in relief, here the whole body is so from the shoulders forward. But this unarticulated body arranged in a straight line considerable differs from the animal-heads of an early period that are well drawn and modeled by a sure hand. Above all, the legs and hooves of this piece lack careful treatment. A date near 1000 agrees with this somewhat primitive type.

2) Openwork disks.

Richly perforated disks belong to a group of Chinese objects, the purpose of which is unknown. They must not be confused with the pendants derived from eastern Europe. They bear the elaborate ornamentation called by common consent, the art of the Ch'in style. But while there are no dated documents of this art, this designation remains entirely hypothetical, although it may agree very well with the Chinese stylistic development. An attempt has been made to place this art in the valley of the Huai (5) without, however, sufficient foundation for such a geographic classification.

We have encountered several times during the course of our study so-called Ch'in stylistic elements even in objects which by our analysis should be dated much later. The openwork disk from the Loo collection (Plate XLIII no. 1) at first easily appears to belong to the Ch'in group. A braid, typical of the well known Li Yu receptacles (6), decorates the edge. Similar dragons, covered with dotted and striped ornaments, are found with identical details on the buttons of bells that probably really belonged to the Ch'in period (7). But the metal with

only a slight patina, and rubbed where the relief is highest, is unparalleled in the ancient art of China. The same type of patina has been found elsewhere on bronzes which we have not dated before the second half of the I millennium or even later. If we give the same late date to this openwork disk we must conclude that not only Steppe elements were repeated at the northern Chinese frontier, but even Chinese elements, which there extend by many centuries their normal length of life. The same phenomenon, but on a smaller scale, has been noticed a number of times by Tallgren, but the great artistic " retardation " of our region, from the point of view of Chinese elements, has still to be revealed. We can find no explanation for this strange fact other than the ritual purpose of this art and its local isolation.

The same object is found in a simplified form that better resembles frontier art (Plate XLIII no. 2) and which corroborates the truth of our theory. It is not modeled plastically, but is entirely flat. The border is no longer ornamented with a braid. A hen is the dominating animal motive with two rows of little chickens, seven in the outer row, five in the inner. The drawing is limited to very simple lines. The date around 1000 best agrees with these facts.

NOTES OF CHAPTER X

(1) Salmony, 8).
(2) Pottier, pl. XVI.
(3) Chosen Koseki Zufu, vol. IX, fig. 1266.
(4) Salmony, 8).
(5) Siren, vol. I, p. 68 seq.
(6) Salmony, 1), pl. 35 seq.
(7) Kümmel, pl. 26 seq.

CHAPTER XI

LATE OBJECTS FROM THE STEPPES

1) The Persian circle.

Up to the present, we have spoken of the utilizations belonging to the Steppe civilizations of which we have found repetitions at the Chinese frontier in periods of which there was usually no question in the country of their creation. Besides these survivals there are objects which were created far from our region at a later period, but which nevertheless were repeated there. This is not at all surprising since trade, very active in the II millennium, particularly under the Yüans, brought many objects of western make to the north and to the east. The Seldchuk importations into Siberia are represented by one of the best known and most widespread of objects, the mirror with the winged sphinxes (Plate XLIII no. 3), of which we shall speak again later on. On the other hand no attention will be paid to the connection between Persian and Chinese art at an earlier period. Specimens of these mirrors have been found all over southern and eastern Russia. Our reproduction is of one that was found even at Minussinsk and is not the only emported example from that Seldchuk region. The sure date of XI-XIII centuries (1) for this type of mirror proves that in Siberia, even at so late a date, the dead carried objects of artistic value with them to the tomb. Of another example of Persian and Chinese art, we can say with assurance, beause of its frequency, that it was imitated in the circle of the Steppes and finally at the Chinese frontier. This is the lock in animal form. It is known in the region of the Volga (2). Tallgren finds it in the inventory of the Bolgary civilization (1000-1500), complete with its iron key (3). Horses, rams, cows, and dogs are the animals represented. In order to understand the working of these locks, one must refer to Tallgren's drawing (4). The Finnish scholar considers that this object is characteristic of the barbarian world. During its popularity, the northern Chinese frontier also belonged to the domain of its distribution (Plate XLIII no. 4). A lock from Bolgary is also decorated with dots surrounded by circles. The conformity between examples from the west and the extreme east is therefore proved. In every region the date corresponds with that of Bolgary.

2) Schamanistic objects.

a) Schamanistic plaques.

In many region of the Siberian Steppes at the end of the I millennium we notice a strange alteration in style. In place of objects adapted to a definite use, we find flat plaques that were not meant for any evident purpose. They may have been votive gifts, appliques for the clothing of the schamanes, or objects for exorcism. The transition from a developed to a weakened animal style is well shown in the find from the Ischimka river (5) which I date later than is customary (that is at the end, instead of at the middle, of the I millennium). This primitive and undeveloped stage is also well demonstrated by a group of finds from Tomsk (6) which I believe already reach a period about 1000 or even later. These are all flat plaques that had been cast in an open mold.

The same type of plaque, for no clear purpose and with a completely smooth back, is also found at the northern frontier of China (Plate XLIII nos. 5 & 6). There can be no doubt that these two pieces go together because of the similarity of the outlines that are in relief and that frame flat, unarticulated surfaces. The roe with backturned head (Plate XLIII no. 5) adds to the repertory of north of China forms a degeneracy that far surpasses any we have so far encountered. On the other hand, Plate XLIII no. 6 adds a new motive to Siberia as well as to our region, the fabulous winged human-headed creature. The Eurasiatic west knew such fantastic forms through the proximity and influence of ancient civilizations of Asia Minor. We must seek the inspiration of our example in the sphinx of Seldchuk art found on mirrors belonging to that civilization (Plate XLIII no. 3). Except for the position of the head, the north of China plaque follows its model fairly closely. Such degenerate revivals should belong to the middle of the II millennium.

b) Sorceror's implements.

The implements which Siberian schamanes used in their exorcising practices have been little studied. Works that have been published in Russian are difficult to obtain. However, we can reach one conclusion-Siberian sorcerors, like the sorcerors of other lands, wished to make a noise. Bell and other rattles fulfilled this aim, the simplest of all rites. Ancient Chinese texts have already spoken of a knife to which bells were attached (7). The form of Plate XLIV no. 1 is derived from a knife (Plate XXXVI nos. 3-4). The animal-head, however, is stunted, and the object as a whole has the appearance of a long pin, slightly curved. It has one loop on the inside, and six on the back, to which metal pieces were attached, one of which remains. Thus there was noise with each motion. I know of no exact parallels in Siberia. But the contour of the animal-head gives it a place in this chapter. Its date should be about the beginning of the II millennium.

Clearly a rattle is the object represented by two examples in the Loo collection

(Plate XLIV nos. 2 & 3). They are long spatulas slightly curved forward and with a medial ridge only along the front. At the back we find a short and strong point on the lower tip. The guard is formed of downward turned antennae. On the smooth or pointed-arched handle there is a single line above the guard of one example, while on the other, there are double lines inlayed with turquoise. The same semi-precious stone (only in part preserved) decorated the eyes in the two serpent-heads which are seen from above and are identical on both sides. Hinged tongues that can move from side to side hang from the months. We do not know in what way the schamanes used this object, but we know of similar Siberian bronzes of the same dimensions. Plate XLIV no. 4 has no rattle, and a handle without inlay or animal-head, but instead a human bust, the arms of which form the guard. Because of the extreme primitiveness of the figure, we consider this Siberian piece to be a work of the II millennium, while the two examples from the northern frontier should be dated earlier, about 1000. That turquoise was still used at this period has been shown by the ear-ornaments on Plate XXXII no. 9. Probably Siberian as well as northern Chinese frontier pieces go back to a still unknown model from regions east of the Steppes.

Objects curved slightly backward, decorated on one side, and which must have had a use similar to that of a spoon (Plate XLIV nos. 5 & 6) also belong to the equipment of the schamane. The smaller piece is crowned with a primitive head on a neck with two creases, while the larger piece has the same form but doubled, above a net of crossed lines. The head-dress is decorated with drops at each side and with beaded bands of the type we saw on scabbards (Plate XL nos. 1-2). We choose the same date for these spoons, the end of the I millennium, a date which corresponds to the primitive form and to the fact that the faces are entirely non-Chinese.

NOTES OF CHAPTER XI

(1) Oglu.
(2) Spitzyn, 6), p. 105, fig. 34-36.
(3) Tallgren, 1), vol. II, p. 32, pl. V, 14-17.
(4) Tallgren, 1), vol. II, fig. 46.
(5) Ermolaev.
(6) Mjalkov, Tallgren, 5).
(7) Couvreur, 1), vol. I, p. 561.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

Andersson relates (1) that one day the Crown Prince of Sweden visited the well known Chinese scholar Lo Chen-Yu. The distinguished visitor bought an S-curved bronze implement (2) which bore on its handle a roe and four stags, evidently a schamanistic object of the type reproduced here on Plate XLIV no. 1. Questioned as to its date, the Chinese scholar answered, to the amazement of his guests : " Sung. "

I shall not be surprised to see my dates as such disputed as was that of Lo Chen-Yu. I am not sure that my reasons will be considered sufficient, but the Han designation, accepted without discussion until now, does not correspond in any way with the condition of the metal, with the diversity of stylistic forms, nor with the deterioration evident at the Chinese frontier.

Not only is there a southeastern survival of the Eurasiatic animal style, but a northwestern as well, among the ancient Germans. Strzygowski (3) has already said of the latter that their animal style was separated by nearly a millennium from that of the Scythians. It should be added that with the term Scythian he also includes Sarmatian art. That such survivals are possible cannot be disputed. Tallgren and Merhart speak continually of them in their books. Of course, all objects should not be placed after Han. There is too much evidence of Siberian influence in Han art. It would, moreover, be worth while to gather together everything that is connected with the north in this period. With roof-tiles surprising results have been obtained (4).

The fact that we pass the usual limit of many of the dates by a millennium or more takes none of the artistic and documentary value away from the objects. They rather gain by finding parallels from the west, since these parallels widen the foundations of primitive art on which developed civilizations are built, civilizations with which primitive art is blended at certain periods and in certain regions.

The primitive uses of schamanism bequeath very ancient conceptions to many ornaments, without their meaning, however, being clearly understood.

Today we are searching everywhere for the first awkwardnesses, the phase of youth. We must not forget that there are later awkwardnesses, the youth of old age, which at times may attain the strength of the beginning. Thus phases in the development of the Sino-Siberian animal style deserve a place in the art of the Far East, as aesthetic as well as historical documents.

NOTES OF CHAPTER XII

(1) Andersson, 5), p. 287.
(2) Andersson, 5), pl. XXVIII, 1.
(3) Strzygowski, p. 52.
(4) Salmony, 2).

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A. A. Zakharov : « J. A. Zaretsky's Excavations in the Goverment of Kharhov », Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua VII. Helsingfors 1932.

PLATES

When there is no special mention of the owner, objects belong to the collection of Mr. C. T. Loo.
When measurements are not given, the objects are reproduced life-size.
When no name of the photographer is given, the photographs have been taken for Mr. C. T. Loo.

Plate I.

1. Axe; brown stone; length 22 cm.; Edward Sonnenschein collection. Chicago; owner's photograph.
2. Axe; brownish stone; length 14 cm. Tchita Museum; photograph Salmony.
3. Coup de poing; green jade; height 23.5 cm. Irkutsk Museum; photograph Salmony.
4. Coup de poing; pale green jade; length 12 cm. Cologne Museum of Far Eastern Art; museum photograph.
5. Coup de poing; dark green jade, white veins; length, 26.5 cm. Tchita Museum; photograph Salmony.

Plate II.

1. Covered receptacle; bronze, green and brown patina; height 15.5 cm. Mrs. Walter Sedgwick collection, London; photograph, C. T. Loo.
2. Lid of above receptacle.
3. Pole-top; bronze, green and blackish patina; height 12.5 cm.
4. Pole-top; bronze, green patina; height 17 cm. Coll. H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Sweden; photograph C. T. Loo.

Plate III.

After Teplouchoff (cf. Bibliography).

Plate IV.

After Teplouchoff (cf. Bibliography).

Plate V.

1. Pole-top; bronze, green patina. Bliss collection, New York; photograph Charles Vignier, Paris.
2. Pole-top; bronze, dark patina; height 12 cm. Minussinsk Museum; photograph Salmony.
3. Pole-top; bronze, green patina; height 16.7 cm.

PLATE VI.

1. Pole-top; bronze, green patina; height 9 cm.
2. Pole-top; bronze, dark patina; height 18 cm.
3. Pole-top; bronze, green and red patina; height 7.3 cm.
4. Pole-top; bronze, green and red patina; height 14 cm.

PLATE VII.

1. Pole-top; bronze, green patina; height 13.2 cm.
2. Pole-top; bronze, green patina; height 9 cm.
3. Pole-top; bronze, green patina; diameter 27 cm.
4. Small pole-top; bronze, green patina : height 5.5 cm.
5. Small pole-top; bronze, dark patina; height 5.5 cm.
6. Small pole-top; bronze, red and green patina; height 6.8 cm.

PLATE VIII.

1. Small pole-top; bronze, green patina; height 4.6 cm.
2. Pole-top; bronze, dark patina; height 4.5 cm.
3. Pole-top in three pieces; bronze, pale green patina; length 14.6 cm.
4. Top piece of an object; bronze, brown and green patina; height 11 cm., width of base 9.5 cm.

PLATE IX.

1. Applique; bronze, faint brown patina; on the back, vertical loop; height 3.5 cm.
2. Applique; bronze, dark patina, very much rubbed; on the back, horizontal loop; height 3.1 cm.
3. Applique; bronze, dark green patina; on the back, horizontal loop, broken; height 3.4 cm.
4. Applique; bronze, slight dark green patina, rubbed; back plain; height 4.4 cm.
5. Applique; bronze, dark green patina; on the back, vertical loop; height 3 cm.
6. Applique; bronze slight dark patina; on the back, quadrangular loop on four supports; length 6.8 cm.
7. Applique; bronze, dark patina; traces of gilding in hollows; back plain; height 4.2 cm.
8. Applique; bronze, slight gray patina; back with horizontal loop; height 2.5 cm.
9. Applique; bronze, slight silvery patina : back with horizontal loop; height 2.3 cm.
10. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with vertical loop; height 3.4 cm.
11. Applique; bronze, slight dark patina; back plain; width 3 cm.
12. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with horizontal loop; height 3,4 cm.
13. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with vertical loop; height 4.5 cm.
14. Applique; bronze, slight dark patina; back plain; height 2.7 cm.
15. Applique; bronze, slight brown patina; back plain; height 3 cm.
16. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back plain; height, 3.3 cm.

PLATE X.

1. Applique; bronze, red and green patina; back with two vertical loops; height 12.3 cm.
2. Applique; bronze, green patina; back plain; height 2.7 cm.
3. Applique; bronze, slight gray patina; back plain; height, 3.2 cm.

4. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back plain; height, 3.3 cm.
5. Applique; bronze, blackish patina; back with two vertical loops; height 6 cm.
6. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back plain : height 5.9 cm.

Plate XI.

1. Applique; bronze, reddish patina; back with vertical loop; length 4.7 cm.
2. Applique; bronze, gilded, rubbed in places; back plain; height 3.2 cm.
3. Applique; gold leaf; back plain; height 4.4 cm.
4. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back plain; height 2.8 cm.
5. Applique; bronze, slight patina with traces of gilding; on the back vertical loop; length 4.7 cm.
6. Applique; bronze, grayish-green patina; back with massive vertical spatula; length 5.6 cm.
7. Applique; bronze, gilded, rubbed in places, red and green patina; back with two horizontal loops; height 3.4 cm.
8. Applique; bronze, slight blackish places; back plain; height 4 cm.
9. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with horizontal loop; length 4 cm.
10. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with quadrangular loop on four supports; height 5.2 cm.
11. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with horizontal loop; length 5.2 cm.
12. Applique; bronze, silvery patina; back with vertical loop; length 2 cm.
13. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with vertical loop; length 3.3 cm.
14. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with vertical loop; length 4.5 cm.
15. Applique; bronze, silvery and brown patina; back with vertical loop; length 3.3 cm.
16. Applique; bronze, gray and green patina; back with vertical loop; length, 4.5 cm.
17. Applique; bronze, gray-green patina; back with vertical loop; height 1.9 cm.
18. Applique; bronze, slight blackish patina; back with vertical loop; height 2.8 cm.
19. Applique; bronze, slight patina, back with two vertical loops; height 5.3 cm.
20. Applique; bronze blue and green patina; back with two double horizontal loops; height 6 cm.
21. Applique; bronze, gray patina; back with quadrangular loop on four supports; height 4.7 cm.
22. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with vertical loop; height, 2.7 cm.

Plate XII.

1. Applique; bronze, pale green patina; back with two vertical loops; length, 11.5 cm.
2. Applique; bronze, silvery and green patina; back with one vertical loop (another is broken); length 8.8 cm.
3. Applique; bronze, silver and green patina; back with two vertical loops; length 9.5 cm.
4. Applique; bronze, slight blackish patina; back with two vertical loops; length 6.8 cm.
5. Applique; bronze, gray and green patina; back with two nearly vertical loops; length 16 cm.
6. Applique; bronze, reddish patina; back with two vertical loops; length, 4.6 cm.

Plate XIII.

1. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back has two little loops, at upper edge one loop horizontal, the other vertical; length 19.8 cm.

2. Detail.
3. Applique; bronze, silver patina; back with two vertical loops, one broken; length 10 cm.
4. Applique; bronze, green and red patina; back with vertical loop; length 9.2 cm.

Plate XIV.

1. Applique; bronze, gilded and much rubbed; back with two vertical loops; length, 6.7 cm.
2. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with two vertical loops length 8 cm.
3. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with two vertical loops; length 8 cm.
4. Applique; bronze, slight gray-green patina; back with two vertical loops; length 8.9 cm.
5. Applique; bronze, slight blackish patina; back with two vertical loops; length 6.9 cm.
6. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with vertical loop; length 5.8cm.
7. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with horizontal loop; length 3.5 cm.

Plate XV.

1. Applique; bronze, slight green patina, back with vertical loop; height 2 cm.
2. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with horizontal loops; height 3 cm.
3. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with horizontal loop; length 5.6 cm.
4. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with vertical loop; height 3 cm.
5. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back plain; length 3.4 cm.
6. Applique; bronze, thin leaf, green patina; back plain; height 3.9 cm.
7. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with two vertical loops; diameter 3.5 cm.
8. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with horizontal loop (broken); height 2.4 cm.
9. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with horizontal loop; height 3.2 cm.
10. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back plain; height 5.5 cm.
11. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with horizontal loop; height 3.4 cm.
12. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back has one horizontal loop at upper edge; diameter 4 cm.
13. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with lowered rim and horizontal loop; length 4.5 cm.

Plate XVI.

1. Applique; bronze, red and green patina; back with horizontal loop; length 3.6 cm.
2. Pendant; bronze, slight blackish patina; height 5 cm.
3. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back has one vertical loop at upper edge; height 4.2 cm.
4. Applique; bronze, reddish patina; back plain; height, 4.5 cm.
5. Applique; bronze, green patina; back plain; height 5 cm.
6. Pendant; bronze, slight patina; height 5.2 cm.
7. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with three loops: those at either end, vertical, and the one in the centre, horizontal; height 4.3 cm.
8. Applique; bronze, blackish patina; small spike in centre back; height 6.4 cm.
9. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with upper loop vertical, lower loop horizontal; height 5 cm.
10. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with two vertical loops placed at top and bottom; height 4.3 cm.
11. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with two vertical loops placed at top and bottom; height 4.9 cm.

12. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with two vertical loops placed at top and bottom; height 5 cm.
13. Applique; bronze, pale green patina; back plain; height 5.1 cm.
14. Applique; bronze, green patina; back with two vertical loops placed at top and bottom; height 4.6 cm.
15. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back plain; length 4.8 cm.
16. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back plain; height 5 cm.
17. Applique; bronze, green patina; back plain; height 4.9 cm.

Plate XVII.

1. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with vertical loop; height 4.5 cm.
2. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with horizontal loop; height 3 cm.
3. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with flat wide button; height 5 cm.
4. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with high vertical loop; height 5.3 cm.
5. Applique; bronze, slight patina; vertical loop high on back; height 6.1 cm.
6. Applique; bronze, red and green patina; back with high vertical loop; height 7.8 cm.
7. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with two vertical loops at top; height 5.7 cm.
8. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back with two vertical loops at top (broken); height 5.8 cm.
9. Applique; bronze, slight green patina; back has at upper edge one vertical loop; height 4.3 cm.
10. Applique; bronze, red patina; horizontal loop high on back; height 3.4 cm.
11. Applique; bronze, slight patina; horizontal loop high on back; height 3.5 cm.
12. Pendant; bronze, slight green patina; height 4.2 cm.
13. Pendant; bronze, pale green patina; height 6 cm.
14. Pendant; bronze, height 4.6 cm.
15. Applique; bronze, slight patina; back with vertical loop; diameter 5.8 cm.
16. Lid; bronze, green patina; loop underneath; height 4.5 cm.

Plate XVIII.

1. Hook; bronze, green patina; length 9 cm. Minussink Museum; photograph Salmony.
2. Hook; bronze, green patina; length 9,2 cm. Minussinsk Museum; photograph Salmony.
3. Sculpture; bronze, green patina; height 24.8 cm. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; museum photograph.
4. Hook; bronze, red and green patina; length 6.5 cm.
5. Hook; bronze, green patina; length 7 cm.
6. Hook; bronze, green patina; length 7.2 cm.
7. Hook; bronze, green patina; length 8.6 cm.
8. Hook; bronze, slight patina; length 6.5 cm.

Plate XIX.

1. Hook; bronze, slight red and green patina; length 11 cm.
2. Hook; bronze, red and green patina; length 10 cm.
3. Hook; bronze, green patina; length 8.5 cm.
4. Hook; bronze, blue and green patina; length 6.5 cm.
5. Hook; bronze, slight green patina; length 6 cm.

6. Hook; bronze, slight green patina; length 9.3 cm.
7. Hook; bronze, brown patina; length 7.7 cm.
8. Hook; bronze, red and green patina; length 4.4 cm.
9. Hook; bronze, pale green patina; length 6.5 cm.
10. Hook; bronze, slight green patina; length 7.7 cm.
11. Hook; bronze, slight green patina; length 4.9 cm.

Plate XX.

1. Hook; bronze, slight green patina; length 9.3 cm.
2. Hook; bronze, blue and green patina; length 8.7 cm.
3. Hook; bronze, green patina; length 6.5 cm.
4. Hook; bronze, smooth green patina; length 6.7 cm.
5. Hook; bronze, blackish patina; leigth 4.7 cm.
6. Hook; bronze, slight green patina; height 2.8 cm.
7. Hook; bronze, slight brown and green patina; height 6.3 cm.
8. Hook; bronze, slight silvery patina; height 6 cm.
9. Hook; bronze, red and green patina; height 8 cm.
10. Hook; bronze, green patina; height 5.9 cm.
11. Hook; bronze, green patina; height 7.5 cm.
12. Small clasp; bronze, green patina; length 7.5 cm.; found at Ananino of Anthropology and Ethnography; museum photograph. Leningrad Museum
13. Small clasp, fragment; bronze, slight patina; length 5 cm.
14. Small clasp; bronze, slight patina; length 4.8 cm.

Plate XXI.

1. Plaque; bronze, pale green patina; length 13 cm.
2. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; length 14.4 cm.
3. Plaque; bronze, green patina; length 13.3 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; length 11 cm.

Plate XXII.

1. Plaque; bronze, green gatina; length 11.5 cm.
2. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; length 11.5 cm.
3. Plaque; bronze, green patina; length 14 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, green patina; back with four vertical loops; length 9.7 cm.
5. Plaque; bronze, slight red and green patina; length 9.5 cm.

Plate XXIII.

1. Plaque; gilded bronze, green patina; back with two vertical loops; length 9.7 cm.
2. Plaque; bronze, green patina with traces of gilding; back with two horizontal loops; length 9.8 cm.
3. Plaque; bronze, brown patina with traces of gilding; back with two horizontal loops; length 9.3 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina with traces of gilding; back with 2 horizontal loops and one vertical (partly broken); length 10 cm.

5. Plaque; bronze, slight green patina; back with vertical loop; length 10.7 cm.
6. Plaque; bronze, slight green patina; back with vertical loop; lebgth 7.7 cm.
7. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; back with two vertical loops; length 10 cm.

Plate XXIV.

1. Plaque; bronze, brown and green patina; length 9.7 cm.
2. Plaque; bronze, nearly without patina; back with vertical loop; length 8 cm.
3. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; back with vertical loop; length 7.7 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, blue and green patina; back with button-shaped protuberance; length 8.5 cm.
5. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; back with vertical loop at tip of tail (broken); length 11.5 cm.
6. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; back with some protuberance that is broken and indistinguishable; length 9 cm.
7. Plaque; bronze, red patina; length 10.5 cm.

Plate XXV.

1. Plaque; bronze, slight green patina; length 9.3 cm.
2. Fragment of plaque; bronze, slight green patina; length 6.3 cm.
3. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; length 8 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, red patina; length 7.2 cm.
5. Plaque; bronze, slight green patina; length 7.3 cm.
6. Plaque; bronze, green patina; length 11 cm.
7. Plaque; bronze, green patina; length 5.6 cm.

Plate XXVI.

1. Plaque; bronze, green patina; length 14 cm.
2. Plaque; bronze, slight brown and red patina; length 12 cm.
3. Plaque; gilded bronze, green patina; back with two horizontal loops; length 11 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; back with two vertical loops; length 7.1 cm.

Plate XXVII.

1. Plaque; bronze, brown and green patina; length 14.5 cm.
2. Plaque; gilded bronze, green patina; back with two horizontal loops and one vertical (the latter broken); length 8. 4 cm.
3. Plaque; bronze, slight green patina; back with two vertical loops; length 10.5 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, green patina; back with two vertical loops; length 11.5 cm.

Plate XXVIII.

1. Plaque; bronze, green patina; length 9.8 cm.
2. Plaque; bronze, gray-green patina; length 9.9 cm.
3. Plaque; bronze, slight brown patina; length 10.5 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, slight gray-green patina; length 9.8 cm.
5. Plaque; bronze, slight brown and green patina; length 8. cm.
6. Plaque; bronze, slight green patina; length 8.1 cm.

Plate XXIX

1. Plaque; bronze, red and green patina; length 8 cm.
2. Plaque; bronze, slight blackish patina; back with vertical loop; length 7.4 cm.
3. Plaque; bronze, slight green patina; back with vertical loop; length 5.1 cm.
4. Plaque; bronze, slight brown patina; length 2.2 cm.
5. Plaque; bronze, slight brown patina; length 6 cm.
6. Plaque; bronze, gray and green patina; length 10.7 cm.
7. Plaque; bronze, brown and green patina; length 13 cm.

Plate XXX.

1. Buckle; bronze, blue and green patina; back with horizontal loop; height 7 cm.
2. Three buckles joined together; bronze, green patina; back of largest piece has button; total height, 9.7 cm.
3. Buckle; bronze, red patina; back with horizontal loop; height 5.3 cm.
4. Buckle; bronze, green patina; height 5.2 cm.
5. Buckle; bronze, green patina; height 5.5 cm.
6. Buckle; bronze; slight green patina; height 5.2 cm.
7. Buckle; bronze, brown patina; height 5.7 cm.
8. Buckle; bronze, green patina; back with four little vertical loops; height 6.6 cm.
9. Buckle; bronze, green patina; back with vertical loop over hedgehog; height 6.4 cm.
10. Buckle; bronze, slight brown patina; height 5. 2 cm.

Plate XXXI.

1. Chain; bronze, green patina; back of the plaque has button-shaped protuberance; width of plaque 7.6 cm.
2. Chain holder; bronze, green patina; length of plaque, 5.8 cm.
3. Chain holder; bronze, slight reddish patina; back with button-shaped protuberance; width 8 cm.
4. Chain holder; bronze, slight blackish patina; back with horizontal loop (broken); width 3.8 cm.

Plate XXXII.

1. Chain-holder; bronze, green patina; back with two vertical eyeholes; width 4 cm.
2. Chain-holder; bronze, green patina; width 5 cm.
3. Pendant; bronze, slight green patina; length 6.9 cm.
4. Pendant; bronze, green patina; length 7 cm.
5. Openwork disk; bronze, gray patina; diameter, 6.8 cm.
6. Openwork disk; gilded bronze, brown patina; diam. 7.5 cm.
7. Openwork disk; bronze, slight blackish patina; diam. 7.1 cm.
8. Ear-drop; bronze, slight green patina; height 13.5 cm.
9. Ear-drop; bronze, slight green patina. Cologne Museum of Far Eastern Art; museum photograph.

Plate XXXIII

1. Statuette; bronze, dark green patina; height 9.5 cm. Minussinsk Museum; photograph Salmony.
2. Statuette; bronze, blue and green patina; height 10.5 cm.

3. Statuette; bronze, slight dark green patina; height 7 cm.
4. Statuette; bronze, slight gray patina; height 8 cm.
5. Statuette; bronze, slight gray patina; height 8 cm.
6. Statuette; bronze, green patina; height 9.7 cm.

Plate XXXIV

1. Statuette; bronze, slight green patina; height 8.5 cm.
2. Statuette; bronze, slight green patina; height 7.1 cm.
3. Statuette; bronze, brown patina; height 6.5 cm.
4. Statuette; bronze, slight green patina; height 6 cm.
5. Statuette; bronze, slight blackish patina; height 8 cm.
6. Statuette; bronze, slight green patina; bronze 8 cm.

Plate XXXV.

1. Sculpture; bronze, slight green patina; height 3 cm.
2. Sculpture; bronze, green patina; height 1.5 cm.
3. Sculpture; bronze, green patina; height 7 cm.
4. Sculpture; gilded bronze; height 0.9 cm.
5. Sculpture; gilded bronze; nail on back; length 2.6 cm.
6. Pendant; bronze, green patina; height 6 cm.
7. Pendant; bronze, slight gray patina; height 4.8 cm.
8. Pendant; bronze, slight gray patina; height 3.2 cm.
9. Pendant; bronze, gray patina; height 3.5 cm.
10. Pendant; copper, no patina; height 3.2 cm.
11. Weight; bronze, green patina; height 5.5 cm.
12. Pendant; bronze, slight patina; height 2 cm.
13. Pendant; bronze, slight green patina; back with two vertical flat bars; length 4.5 cm.
14. Pendant; bronze, slight patina; length 2 cm.
15. Pendant; bronze, green patina; height 3.2 cm.
16. Pendant; bronze, blackish patina; height 3.3 cm.
17. Pendant; bronze, blackish patina; lower end has horizontal hole; height 2.8 cm.

Plate XXXVI.

1. Dagger; bronze, blue and red patina; length 23 cm. Tchita Museum; photograph Salmony.
2. Dagger; iron, slight patina; length 23.5 cm.
3. Knife; bronze, green patina (point broken); length 13 cm.
4. Knife; bronze, blue and green patina; length 30.5 cm.
5. Knife; bronze, black patina; length 22.5 cm.

Plate XXXVII.

1. Knife; bronze, pale green patina; length 20.5 cm.
2. Knife; bronze, slight green patina; length 18.7 cm.
3. Knife; bronze, green patina; length 21.8 cm.
4. Knife; bronze, slight patina; length 21.5 cm.
5. Knife; bronze, dark green patina; length 15.8 cm.
6. Knife; bronze, slight patina; length 22.2 cm.

Plate XXXVIII.

1. Knife; bronze, slight green patina; length 21 cm..
2. Knife; bronze, slight patina; length 19.5 cm.
3. Knife (point broken); bronze, slight green patina; length 16.3 cm.
4. Knife; bronze, slight patina; length 16.5 cm.
5. Knife; bronze, slight brown patina; length 20.4 cm.
6. Knife; bronze, no patina; length 12 cm.
7. Knife; bronze, slight green patina; length 11.8 cm.
8. Pendant; bronze, pale green patina; length 8.5 cm.

Plate XXXIX.

1. Dagger (point broken); bronze, green patina; length 21 cm.
2. Dagger (point broken); bronze, green patina; length 24 2cm.
3. Dagger; bronze, green patina on hilt; length 25.7 cm.
4. Dagger; bronze, slight green patina on hilt; length 25.7 cm.
5. Knife (point broken); bronze, blue-green and red patina; length 22 cm.
6. Dagger; bronze, hilt with green patina and set with turquoise; length 24.8 cm.

Plate XL.

1. Scabbard; bronze, green patina; length 21 cm.
2. Scabbard; bronze, green patina; length 23.6 cm.
3. Sheath for unknown purpose; bronze, black patina; length 17 cm.
4. Holder; bronze, green patina; height 5.2 cm.; Minussinsk Museum; photograph Salmony.
5. Holder; bronze, green patina; height 4.6 cm.
6. Holder; bronze, green patina; height 3.5 cm.

Plate XLI.

1. Pendant; bronze, slight brown patina; height 9.6 cm. Guimet Museum, Paris.
2. The back of the preceding object.
3. Disk; bronze, green patina; back with two loops; diameter 9 cm.
4. Pendant; bronze, slight green patina; back plain; height. 10.2 cm. Guimet Museum, Paris.
5. Pendant; bronze, green patina; back plain; height 7.6 cm. Guimet Museum, Paris.
6. Pendant; bronze, without patina; inscriptions on both sides; height 7.1 cm. Guimet Museum, Paris.
7. Pendant; bronze, slight patina; height 6.8 cm. Novotcherkassk Museum; photograph Salmony.
8. Pendant; bronze, slight green patina; inscriptions on both sides; height 6.6 cm. Guimet Museum, Paris.

Plate XLII.

1. Sickle; bronze, green patina; length 20 cm.
2. Cart-pole end; bronze, pale green patina; length 30 cm.
3. Detail of preceding object; length of head from muzzle to horns, 7 cm.
4. Cart-pole end; bronze, slight green patina; length 14 cm.

Plate XLIII.

1. Openwork disk; bronze, slight green patina; diameter 7 cm.
2. Openwork disk; bronze, slight green patina; diameter 7.6 cm.
3. Mirror; bronze, brown patina; diam. 8 cm. Minussinsk Museum; photograph Salmony.
4. Padlock; bronze, blue and green patina; length 7 cm.
5. Plaque; bronze, slight patina; height 7.3 cm.
6. Plaque; bronze, slight patina; height 7.6 cm.

Plate XLIV.

1. Object for religious ceremonies; bronze, slight patina; length 30 cm.
2. Object for religious ceremonies; bronze, green patina; inlayed with turquoise; length 42 cm.
3. Object for religious ceremonies; bronze, green patina, inlayed with turquoise; length 31 cm.
4. Object for religious ceremonies; bronze, brown patina; length 23.5 cm. Krasnojarsk Museum; photograph Salmony.
5. Object for religious ceremonies; bronze, slight green patina; length 27 cm.
6. Object for religious ceremonies (point broken); bronze, slight green patina; length 10 cm.

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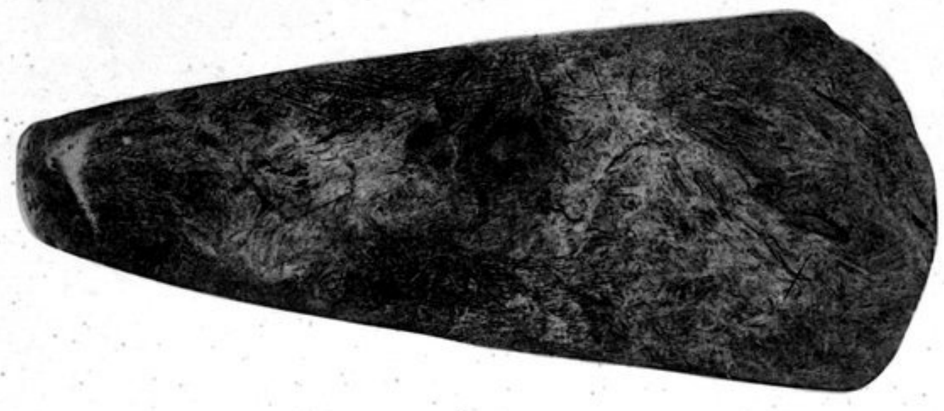
東洋文庫

ACHEVÉ D'IMPRIMER
LE 30 NOVEMBRE 1933
SUR LES PRESSES DES
IMPRESSIONS PAUL ANTOINE
A PARIS.

LES CARACTÈRES CHINOIS
ONT ÉTÉ FOURNIS PAR
L'IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE.



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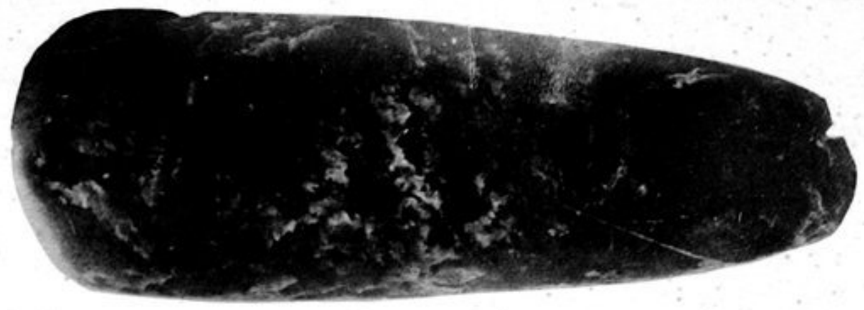

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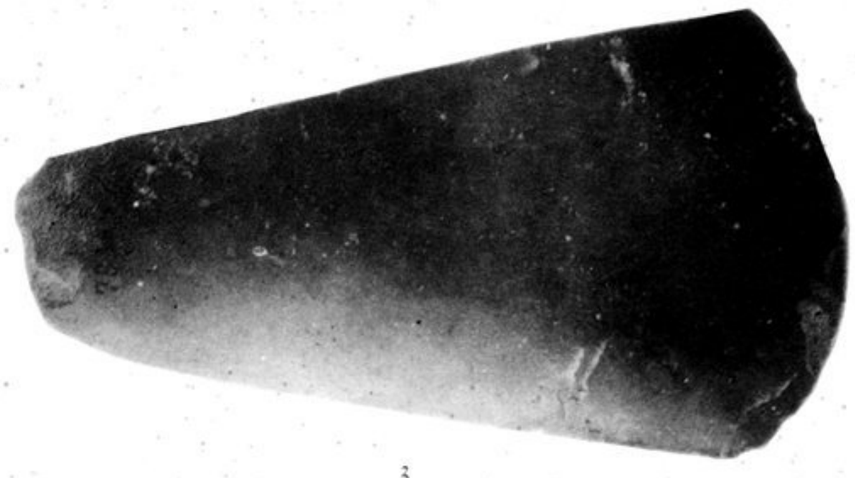

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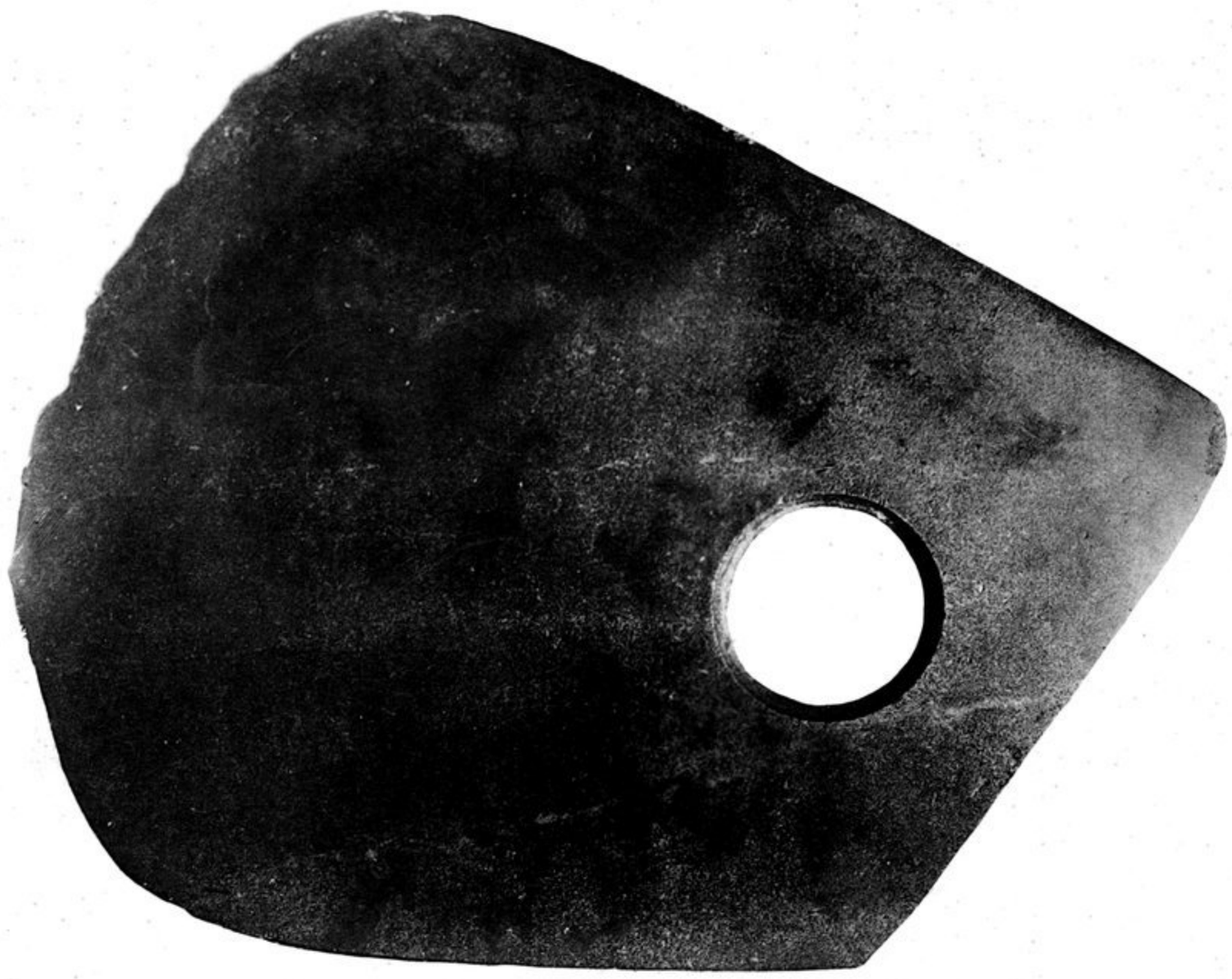

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Pl. I

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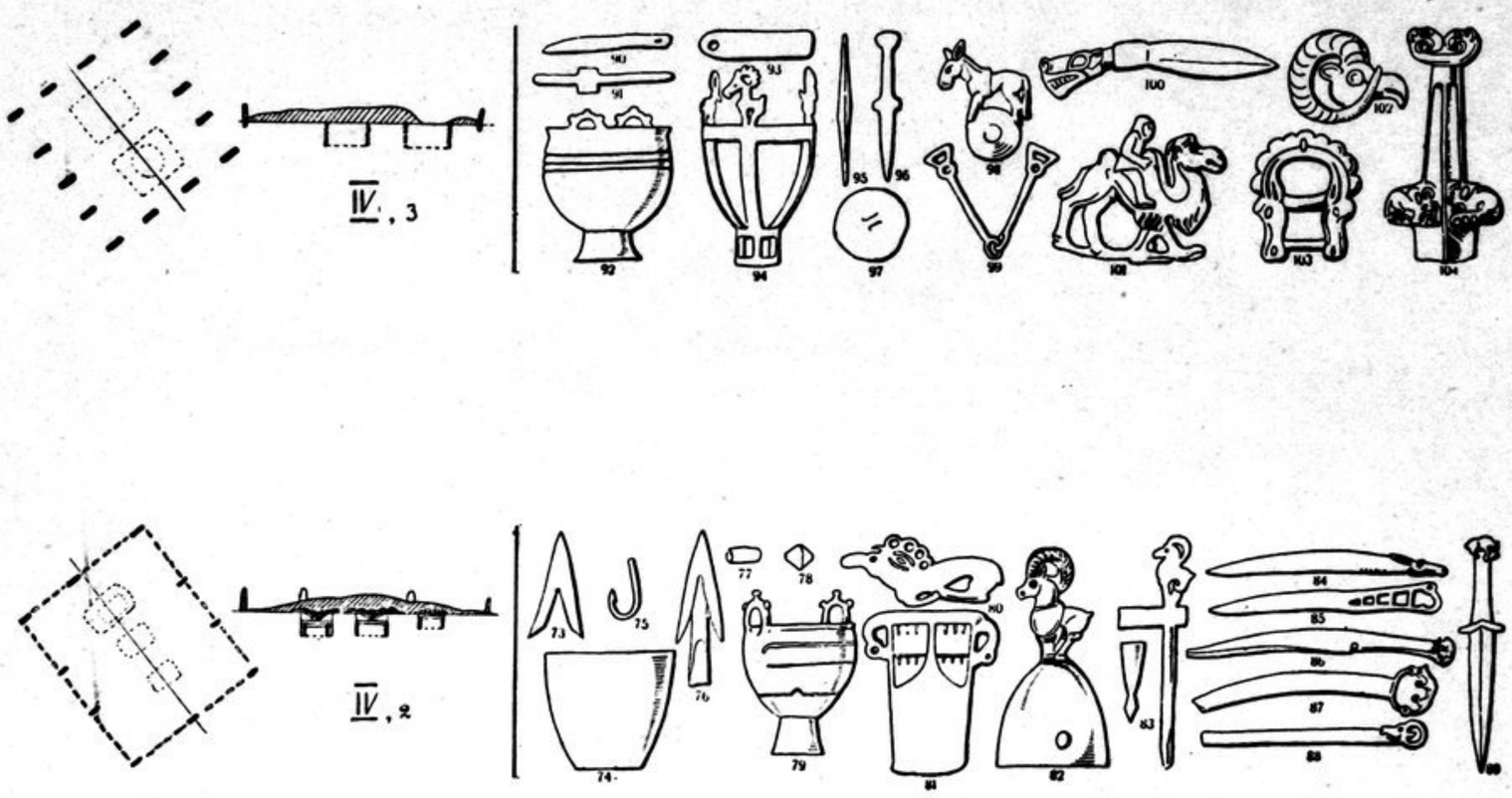
Pl. II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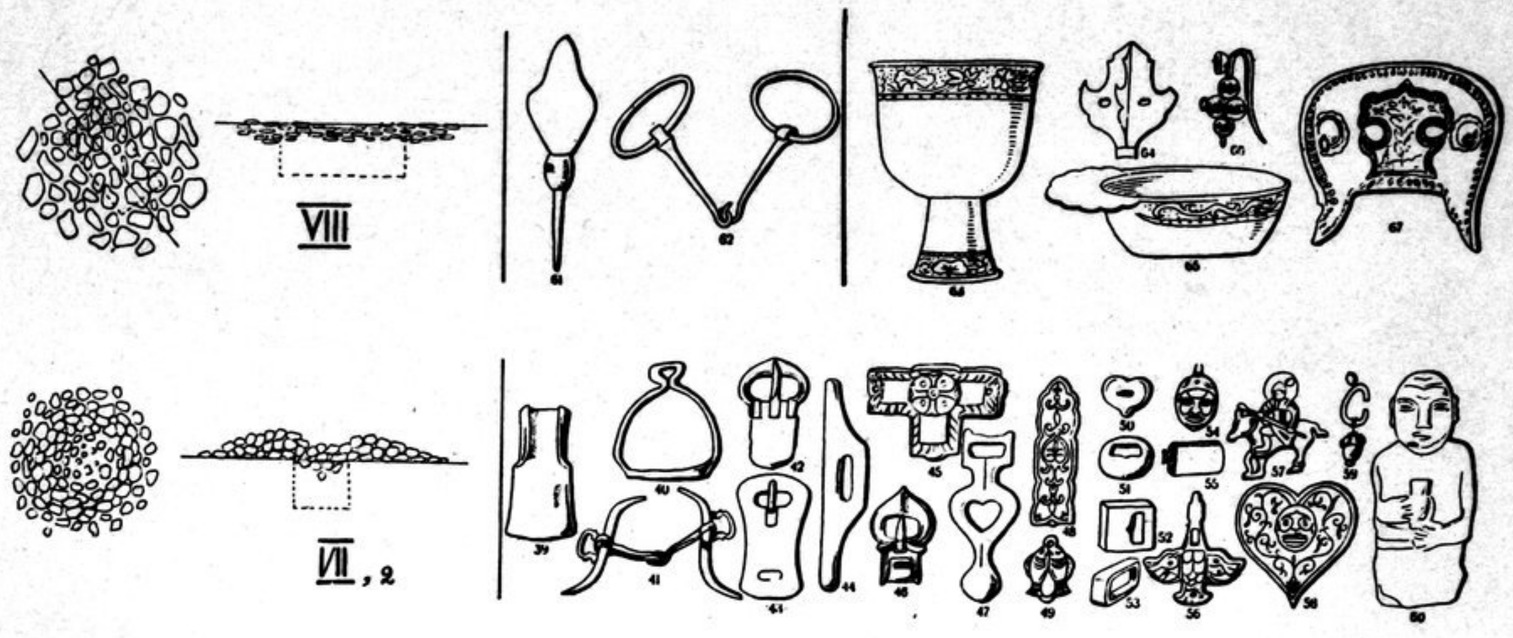

Pl. IV

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Pl. VI

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Pl. VII

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Pl. VIII

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Pl. IX

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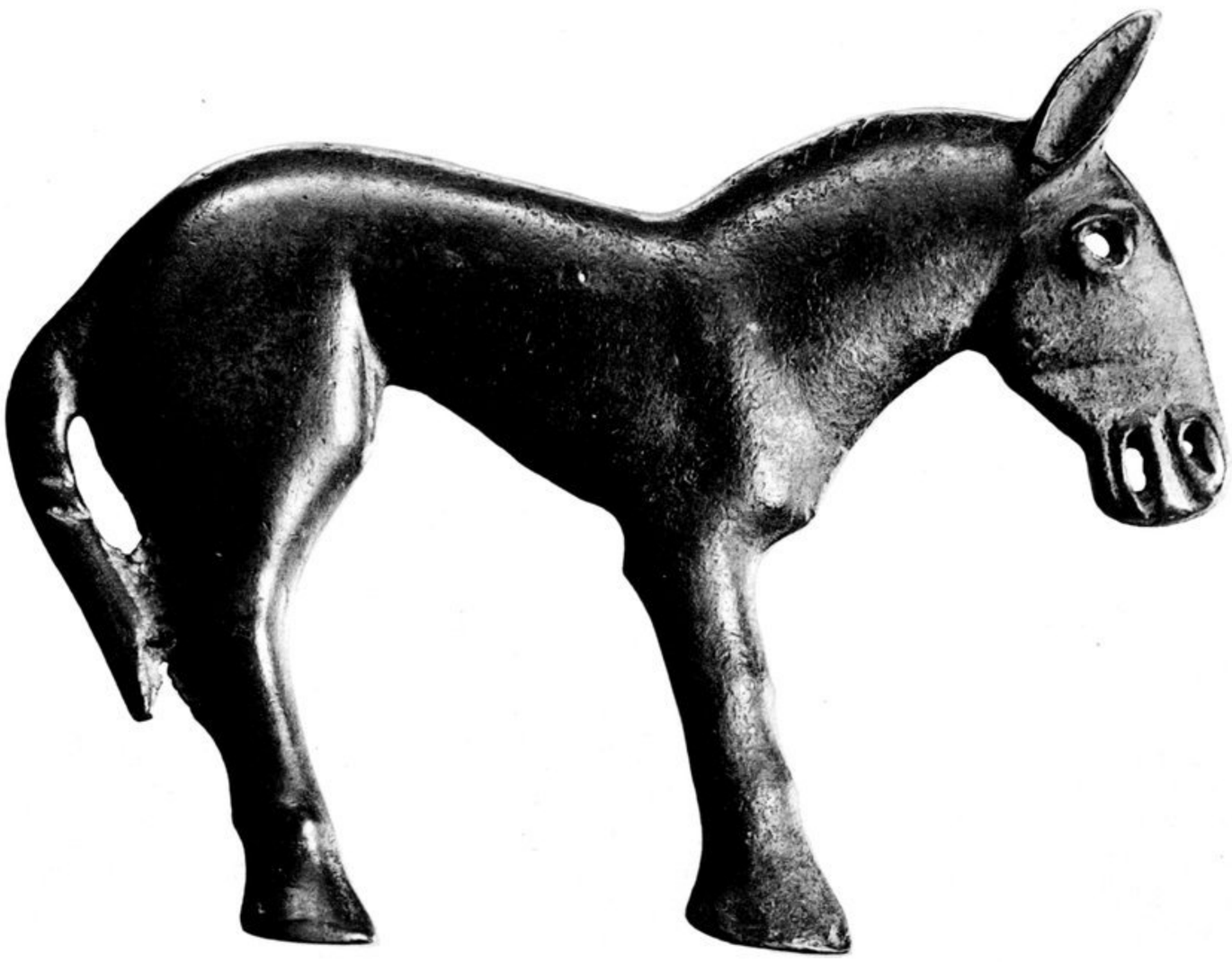

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Pl. X

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Pl. XI

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Pl. XII

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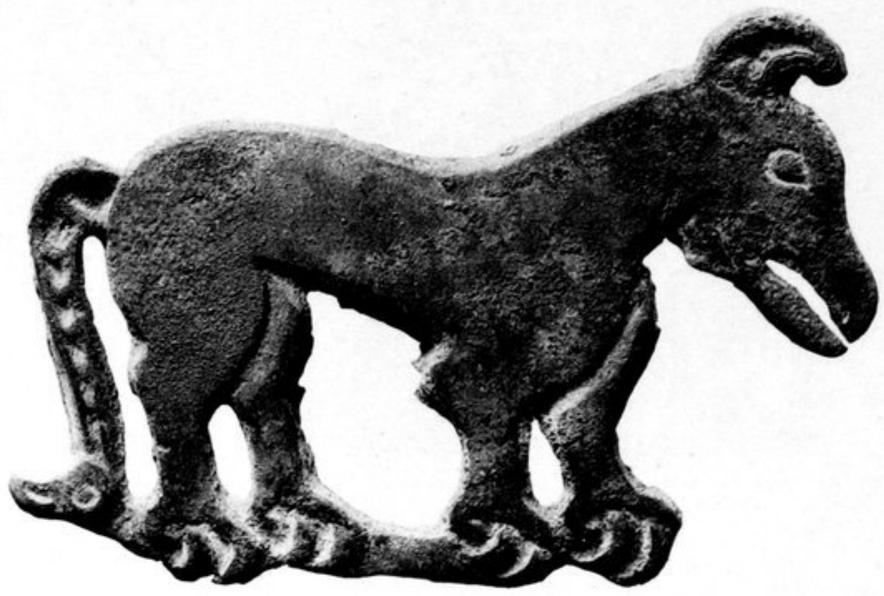

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Pl. XIII

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Pl. XIV

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Pl. XV

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Pl. XVI

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Pl. XVII

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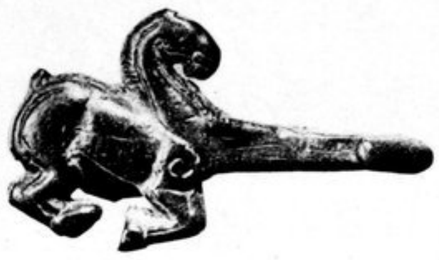
Pl. XVIII



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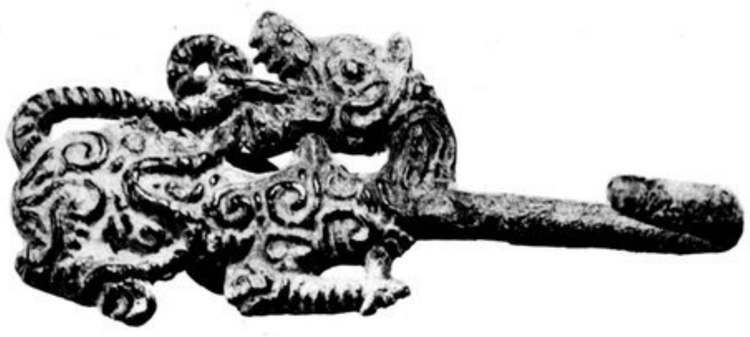

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Pl. XIX

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Pl. XX

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Pl. XXI

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Pl. XXII

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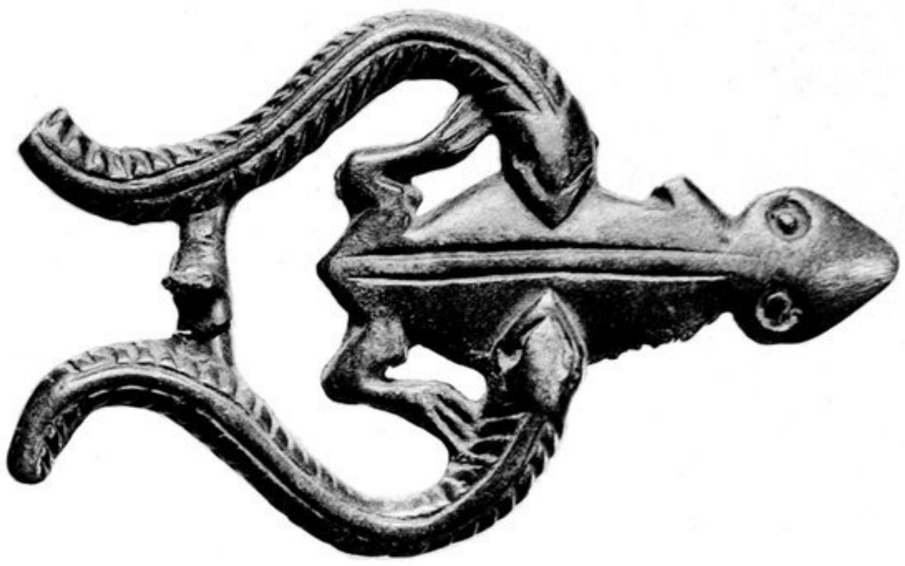

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Pl. XXIII

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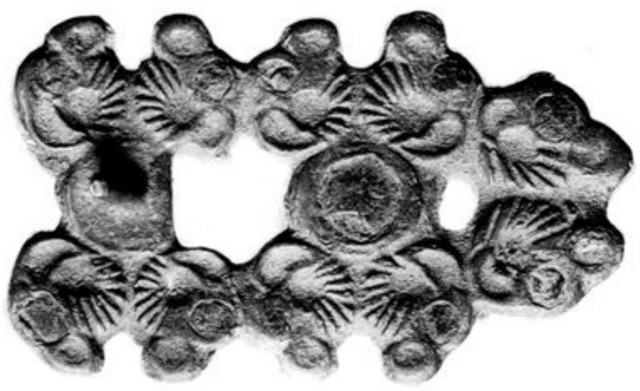

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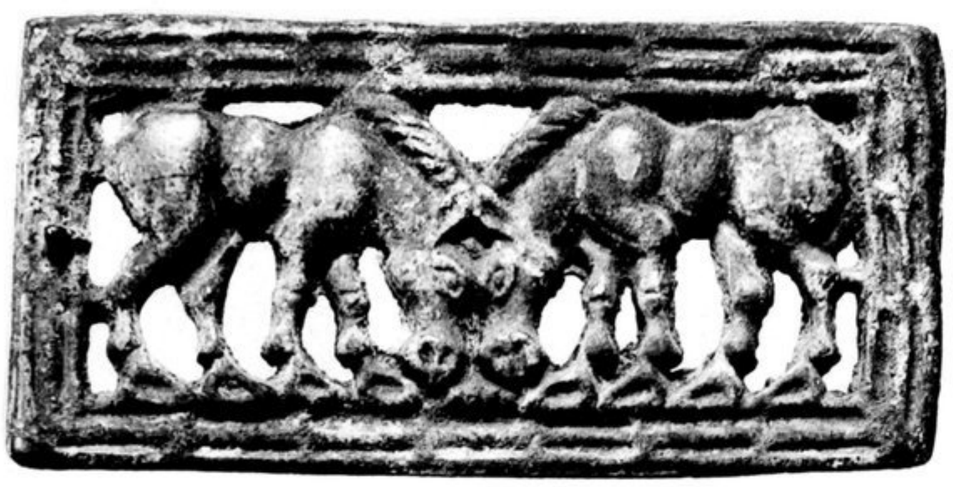

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Pl. XXV

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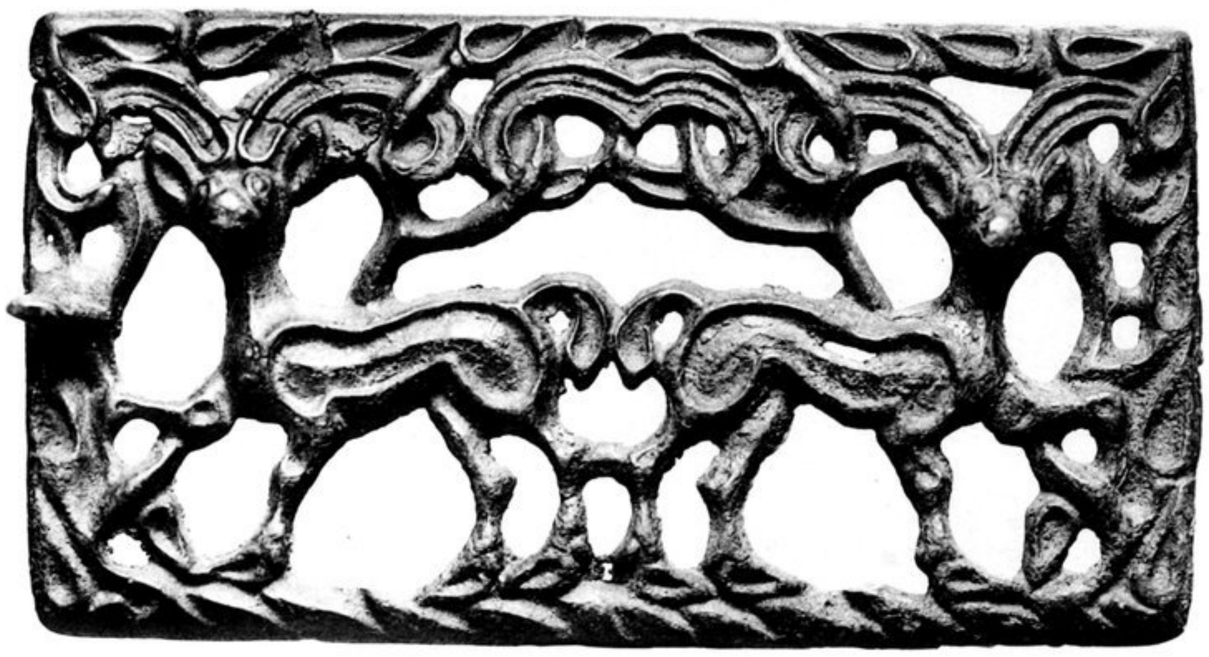

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Pl. XXVI

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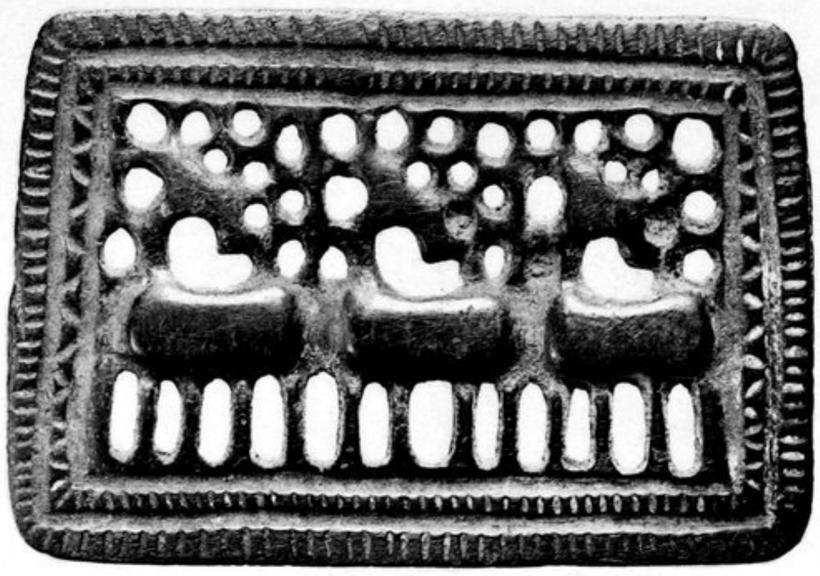
Pl. XXVII



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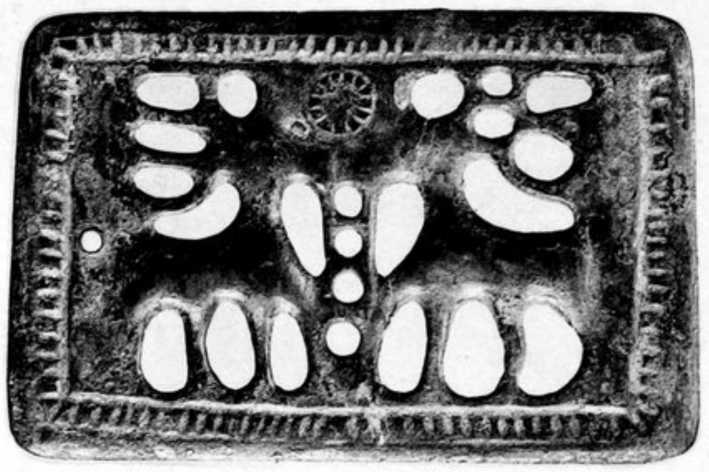

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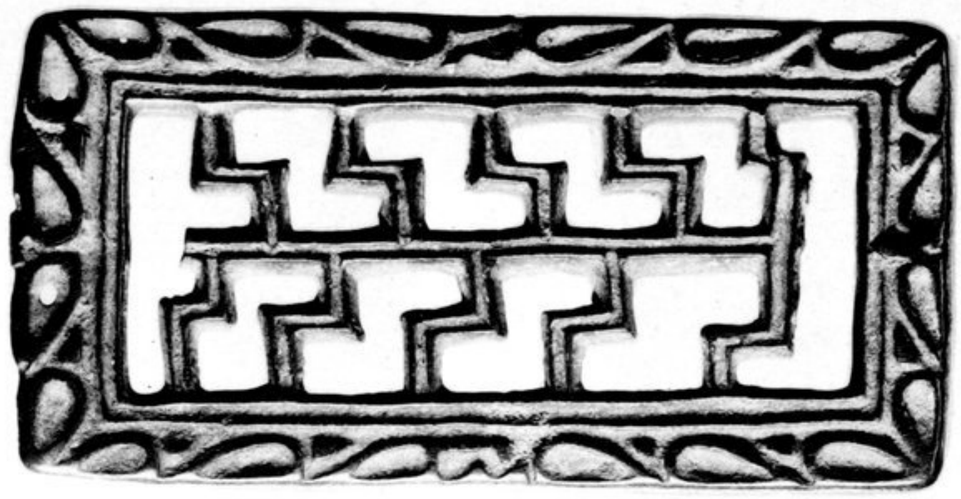
Pl. XXVIII



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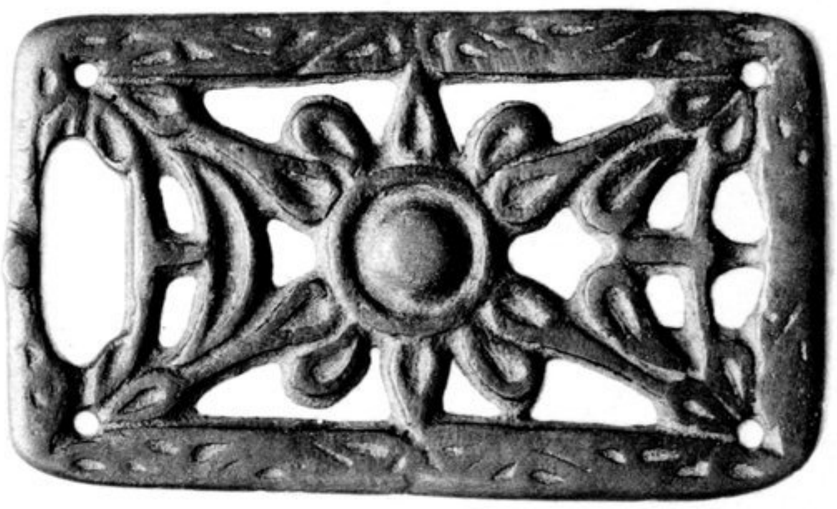

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Pl. XXIX

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Pl. XXX

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Pl. XXXI

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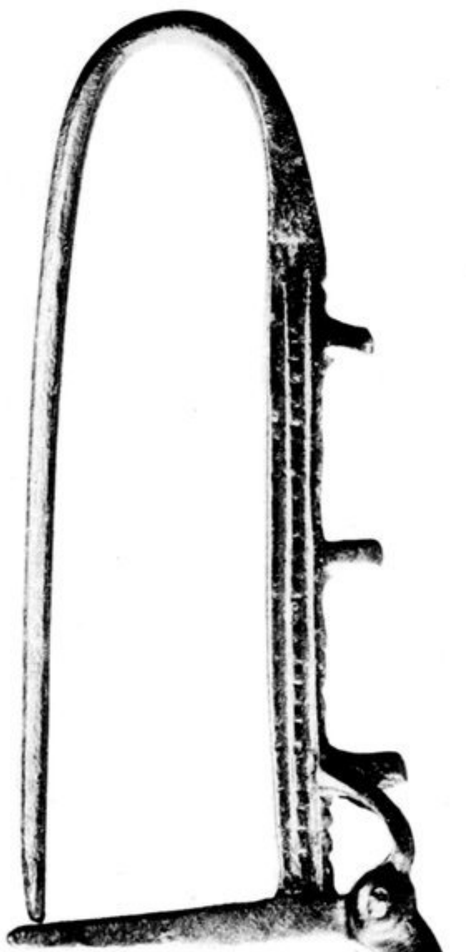

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Pl. XXXII

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Pl. XXXIII

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Pl. XXXIV

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Pl. XXXVI

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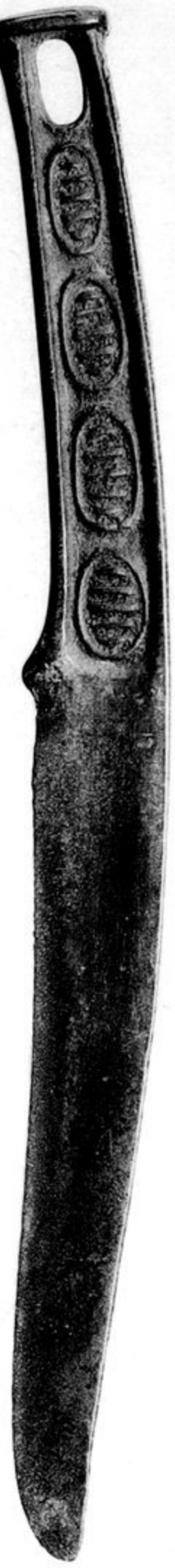

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Pl. XXXVII

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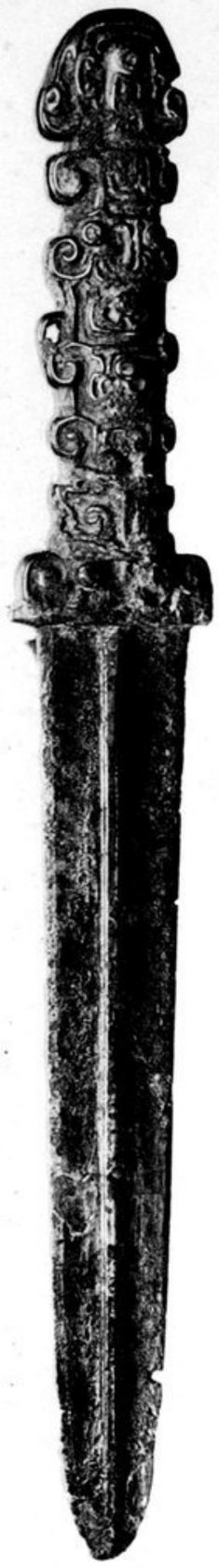
Pl. XXXVIII



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Pl. XXXIX

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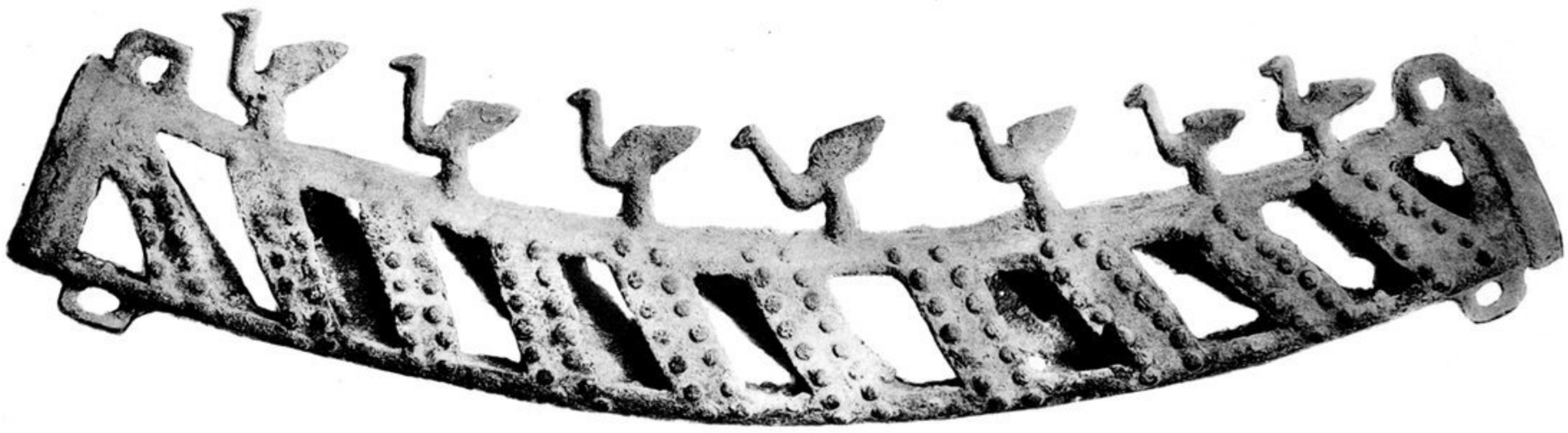

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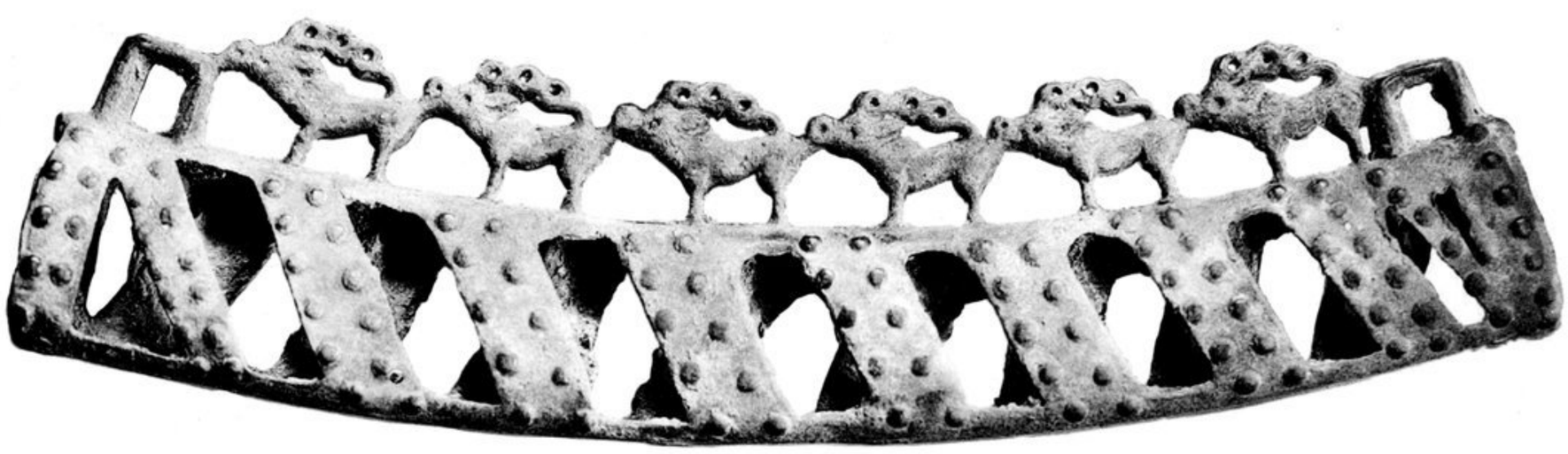

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Pl. XL

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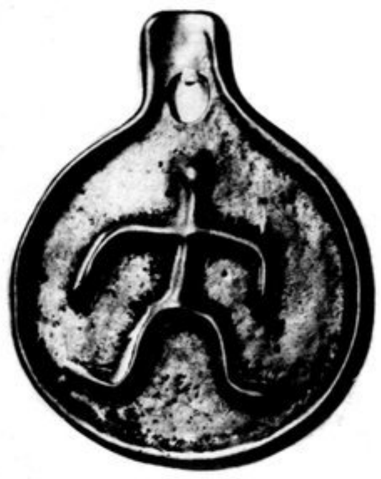

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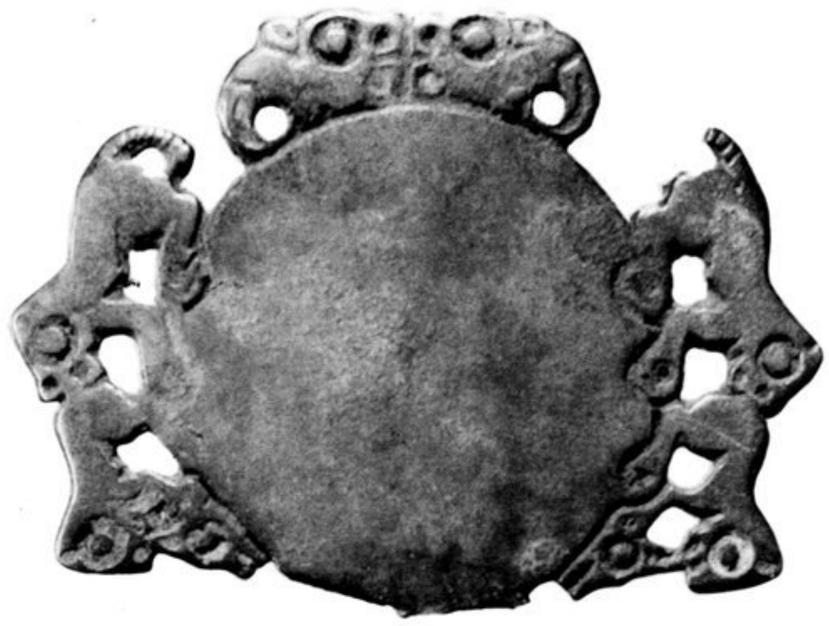

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Pl. XLI

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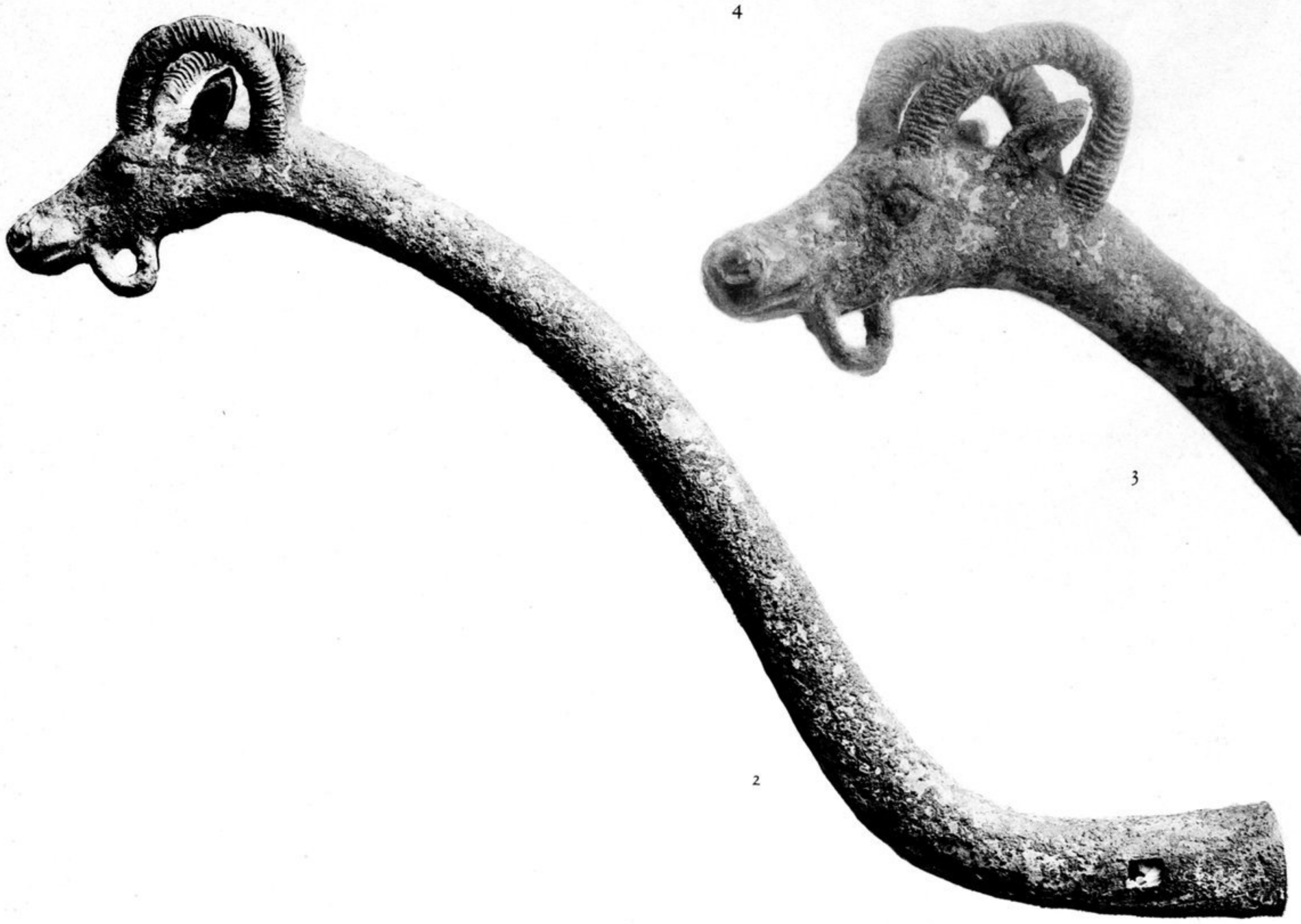

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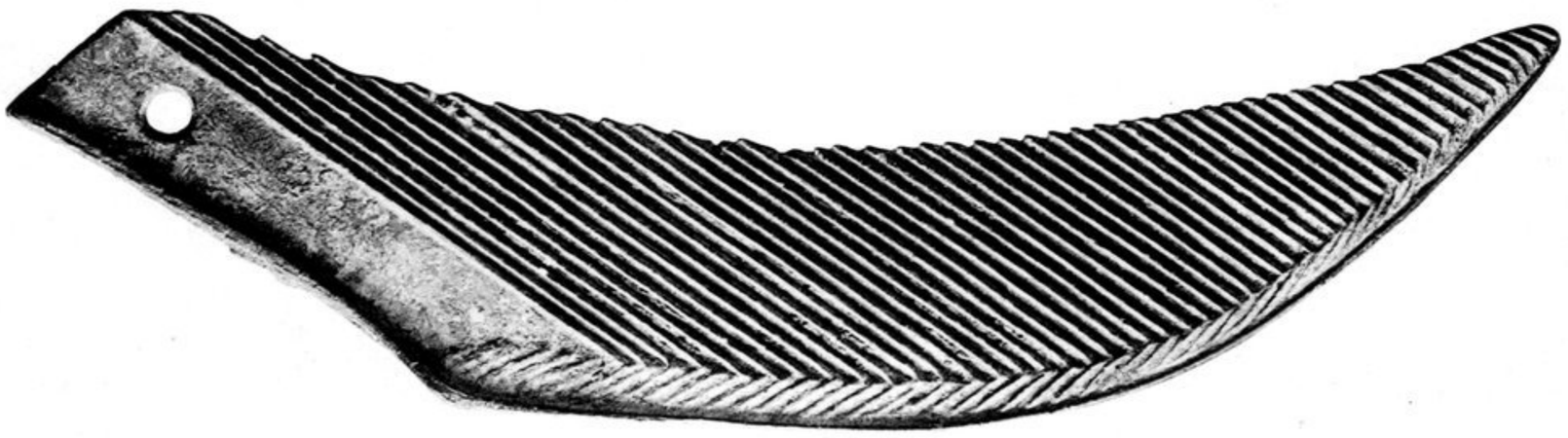

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Pl. XLII

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Pl. XLIII

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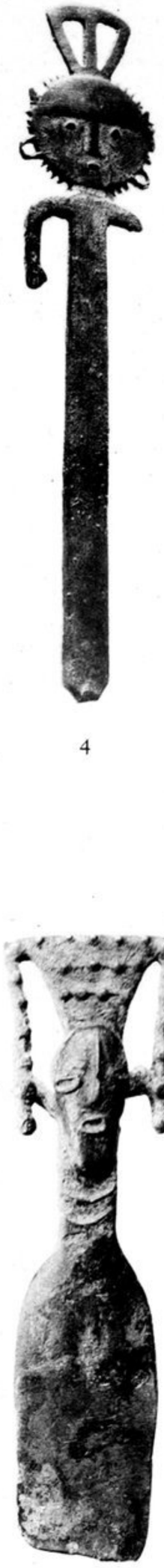

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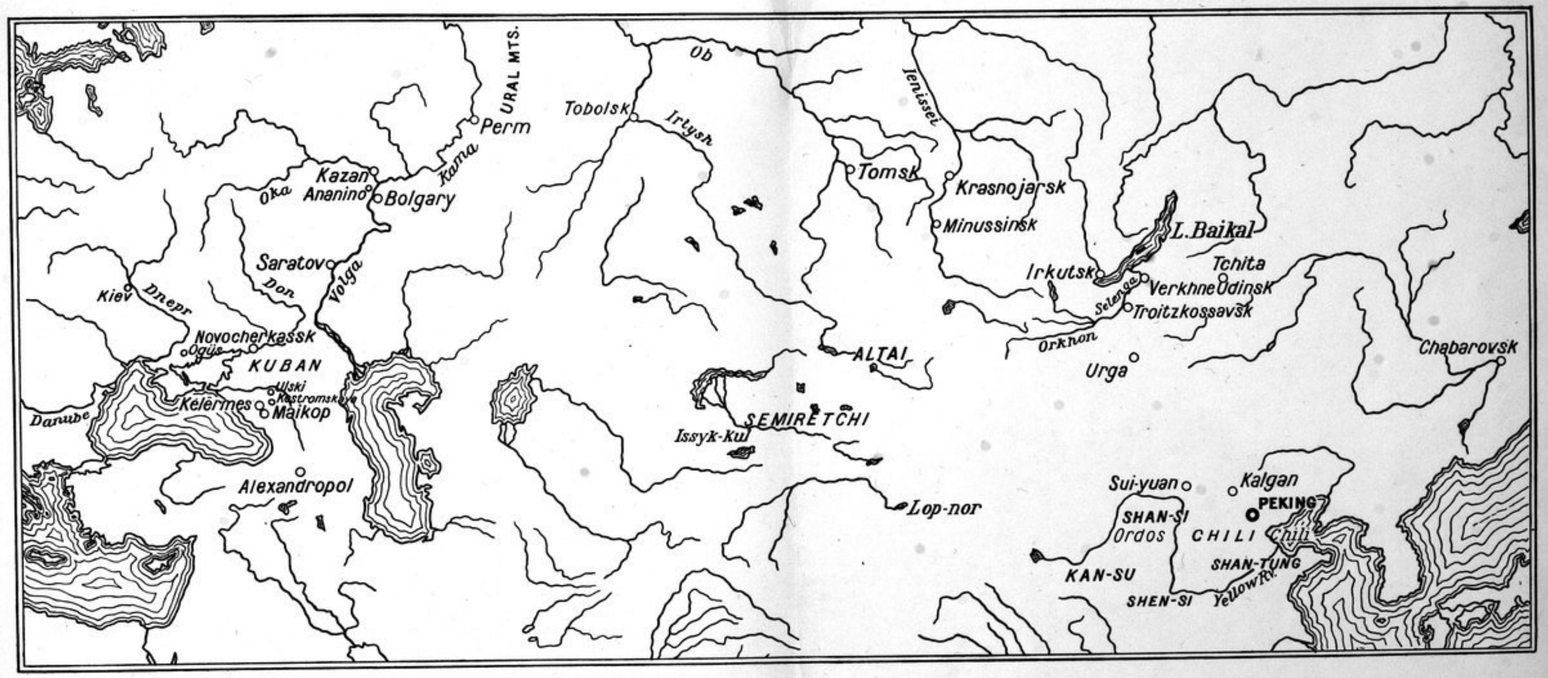
Pl. XLIV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Ilski
Kostromskoy
Kelermes
Maikop
Danube
Alexandropol
Tobolsk
Irtysh
Ob
Tenissei
Tomsk
Krasnojarsk
Minussinsk
L. Baikal
Irkutsk
Tchita
Verkhne Udinsk
Troitzkossavsk
Selenga
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Chabarovsk
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Issyk-Kul
Lop-nor
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SHAN-SI
Ordos
CHILI
Chili
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KAN-SU
SHEN-SI
Yellow R.